THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

From the Year 1423, to the Year 1542.

CONTAINING THE

LIVES AND REIGNS

OF

JAMES I. II. III. IV. and V.

By WILLIAM DRUMMOND, Esq;
of HAWTHORNDEN.

GLASGOW:
Printed by R. URIE, MDCCXLIX.

~~1769~~
1749

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My very good LORD and CHIEF,

JOHN

EARL of PERTH.

SOME may think, that the writing of this hiſtory proceeded from ambition or the deſire of fame; others, that my deſign was to compliment the high and mighty prince CHARLES, as affecting ſome place or penſion. I have always been careleſs and negligent about fame and reputation. According to my duty, I have writ papers of another kind, vindicating his majeſty's juſt government, and taxing his diſloyal ſubjects with rebellion, and overthrowing the ſtate. But my greateſt reaſon for writing this is, that I found in the hiſtories of Scotland, JAMES I.

a man eminent in all virtues, a man born of the ſame country with myſelf, a prince, and the ſon of a DRUMMOND, lineally deſcended of your lordſhip's ancient family, of which ſo many great perſonages have ſprung. The founder of your family, who firſt bore the name, came from Hungary to Scotland as admiral with St. MARGARET, queen to king MALCOLM CANMORE, above ſix hundred years ago, when ſirnames were firſt known in this kingdom. In king ROBERT BRUCE's days, WALTER DE DRUMMOND, ſon to MALCOLM BEG DRUMMOND, your lordſhip's predeceſſor, was, according to STOW's annals, clerk-regiſter, or ſecretary to the king, and one of the commiſſioners for making a peace or ceſſation of arms at Newcaſtle, in the year of God 1323, betwixt king ROBERT BRUCE and EDWARD II. king of England. In king DAVID BRUCE's time, the DRUMMONDS were very famous, as being implacable enemies to the MONTEITHS (who had baſely betrayed that great hero Sir WILLIAM WALLACE) whom they fought ſeveral times, and killed many of them; as we may ſee by an agreement made between them, by the king's ſpecial command,

command, at the ſight of his two juſticiaries Sir HUGH EGLINTON and Sir ROBERT ERSKINE of Alloa. An original copy of this agreement is to be ſeen in your lordſhip's charter-cheſt, written on fine parchment, and in ornate Latin; it is dated on the banks of the river Forth over-againſt Stirling, Sunday the 17th of May 1360. Sir MALCOLM DRUMMOND, brother to queen ANNABELLA DRUMMOND, married DOUGLAS heireſs of Mar, and was made earl of Mar, but died without ſucceſſion. He was an excellent and valiant man, and in great reputation with king DAVID BRUCE, ROBERT II. and ROBERT III. For his good ſervices at the battle of Otterburn, in taking priſoner Sir RALPH PERCY, brother to HENRY PERCY, called Hotſpur, earl of Northumberland, he got a yearly penſion of five hundred pounds out of the cuſtoms of Inverneſs during life. When king JAMES I. was captive in England, we find a paſſport granted by the king of England to one DUNGALLUS DRUMMOND, who had been at London attending his royal maſter, to return home. Among the nobility and gentry who were delegated

from Scotland, and had paſſports from England to meet at Durham, and convoy king JAMES I. home after his long captivity, was Sir JOHN DRUMMOND of Stobhall, a very conſiderable man in thoſe days. He was married to ELEANOR SINCLAIR earl of Orkney's daughter, whoſe mother was lawful daughter to ROBERT II. Sir JOHN by his ſiſter queen ANNABELLA DRUMMOND, was uncle to king JAMES, and his lady was couſin-german to him; ſo he was more than one way nearly related to the royal family. JOHN DRUMMOND, youngeſt ſon to Sir JOHN DRUMMOND of Stobhall, and nephew to Sir MALCOLM above-mentioned, went abroad in the year 1419, and ſettled in the iſlands of Madera, and was called JOHN ESCORTIO DRUMMOND; from whom is deſcended a numerous offspring very rich and potent, as ſeveral letters to your lordſhip, and to your lordſhip's predeceſſors, do abundantly teſtify. Your lordſhip's great-grand-father, JOHN, firſt lord DRUMMOND, was a wiſe and brave man; he was juſtice-general of Scotland for many years: In the reigns of king JAMES III. and king JAMES IV. he made a very conſiderable figure, and was very

very remarkable both for arms and arts, though he fell into great misfortunes by too cloſely adhering to his friends and relations the Douglaſſes, as all our hiſtorians inform us. Your lordſhip's brother, JAMES, firſt earl of Perth, was well educated in France; and when JAMES VI. came to the crown of Great-Britain, he was ſent ambaſſador with CHARLES earl of Nottingham high admiral of England, to PHILIP III. king of Spain, for taking that king's oath upon the ratification of the articles of peace concluded betwixt the two crowns, and for mediating a peace betwixt Spain and the Low-countries; which embaſſy he performed with ſucceſs and applauſe. From ſuch early appearances, we had juſt reaſons to expect great things would follow: But ſoon after his return he died, being not much above 20 years of age. And I may ſay about your lordſhip, without flattery, which I abominate, that even in theſe worſt of times, you are eminently conſpicuous for piety and prudence, for loyalty towards the king, for real affection towards your country, for kindneſs towards your friends, and for the care you take in preſerving your family, and managing your affairs ſo

juſtly and frugally. I have only mentioned ſome few of your lordſhip's predeceſſors; for if I ſhould tell all the great and illuſtrious perſonages of your name, and the alliances your family hath with other great houſes in this nation, it would ſwell this beyond the true bounds of a dedication. But the greateſt honour of all, and no ſubject can have any greater, is, that the high and mighty prince CHARLES king of Great-Britain, and the moſt part of the crowned heads in Europe, are deſcended of your honourable and ancient family.

It may ſeem ſtrange to many, that I, who the moſt part of my life, have been writing about ſmall things in verſe, ſhould adventure to write about ſo many great and weighty affairs in proſe: But what could not the love I carry to your lordſhip's family make me attempt to do, and the virtues of ſo high and great a prince as king JAMES I. deſcended of your lordſhip's houſe? If we believe ſome ſchool-men, that the ſouls of the departed have ſome dark knowlege of the actions done upon earth, which concern their good or evil; what ſolace then will this bring to JAMES I. that after two hundred years, he hath

hath had one of his mother's name, and race, that hath renewed his fame and actions in the world? That your lordſhip may live long to be the ornament of your name and nation, to be a protector of your friends, and a patron of learning and learned men, is the ſincere deſire of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

Moſt obedient, and moſt

Faithful ſervant and kinſman,

Will. Drummond.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN of JAMES I.

THE nobles of Scotland being wearied with the form of their preſent government; (for though they had a king, they enjoyed not the happineſs of his ſway, by his reſtraint afar off, under the power of a ſtranger;) ſome of them were poſſeſſed with hopes, by the change of the head, to find a change in the body of the ſtate, and a flow of their ebbing fortunes; the church-men and the gentry having ever continued loyal and well-affected to the lawful heir of the crown; the commons, men delighting in novations, and ordinarily preferring uncertainties, and things unſeen and to come, to what for the time they did hold and enjoy; the governour of the kingdom alſo himſelf, irritated by the miſdemeanour of his children, and forecaſting the danger he might be plunged into, if the ſtates ſhould purchaſe the recovery of their king, he not complying with their deſign; all unanimouſly and together determine, without longer prolongings, to work the delivery of their native prince, JAMES, forth of England, where he had been detained eighteen years as a priſoner.

They who were choſen and got commiſſion to negotiate his liberty were ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, ſon to ARCHIBALD duke of Turrain, WILLIAM HAY conſtable of the realm, ALEXANDER IRVINE

of Drum knight, HENRY LIGHTON biſhop of Aberdeen, and ALEXANDER CORNWALL arch-dean of Lothian.

Theſe coming to London, were graciouſly received by the ſtate, and ſeverally entertained by king JAMES, and ſo many friends as either his alliance or virtues had acquired. After ſome few days ſtay, deſiring to have audience in council, they were admitted; where biſhop LIGHTON is ſaid to have ſpoken to this effect.

" The reſpect and reverence which the nation of the " Scots carrieth towards all kings, is every where " known; but chiefly that love and loyalty which they " have to the ſacred perſons of their own native prin- " ces: for, as monarchy is the moſt ancient form of " government, ſo have they ever eſteemed it the beſt, " it being more eaſy to find one inſtructed and trained " up in heroical virtues, than to find many. And how " well ſoever governours and vicegerents rule the com- " monwealth; yet is that government but as the light " of the moon or ſtars in abſence of the ſun, and but " repreſentations of ſhadows for real bodies. This hath " moved the three eſtates of that kingdom to direct us " here unto you.

" Our king theſe many years hath been kept from " us, upon juſt or unjuſt grounds we will not argue. " That providence, which hath appointed every thing " to its own end, hath done this for the beſt, both to " you and us: And we are now to treat with you for " his delivery; beſeeching you to remember, that his " father, of ſacred memory, recommended him, out of " that general duty which one prince oweth to another, " to your king's protection, in hope of ſanctuary, and " in requeſt of aid and comfort againſt ſecret, and " therefore the more dangerous, enemies. And to con- " feſs the truth, hitherto he hath been more aſſured " amongſt you, than if he had remained in his own " country, your favours being many ways extended " towards him; having in all liberal ſciences and vir- " tues brought him up: that his abode with you ſeem- " eth rather to have been a remaining in an acadmy, " than in any captivity; and thus he had been loſt, if he " had not been loſt. Beſides, though we have the happi- " neſs to claim his birth and ſtem, ye have the claim of his

" ſuc-

"ſucceſſion and education, he being now matched with "the royal blood of England in marriage. Thus his li- "berty, which we entreat for, is a benefit to yourſelves, "and thoſe princes which ſhall claim the deſcent of his "offspring. For if it ſhould fall forth (as what may "not, by the variable changes of kingdoms, come to "paſs?) that this prince by uſurpers and rebels were "diſgarniſhed of his own crown, they are your ſwords "which ſhould brandiſh, to ſet him on his royal throne. "We expect, that as ye have many ways rendered him "yours, you will not refuſe to engage him yet more "by his liberty, which he muſt acknowlege wholly "and freely to receive from you: and by benefits and "love to overcome a king, is more than by force of "arms. And ſince he was not your priſoner by chance "of war, having never raiſed arms againſt you, but by "way of protection detained here, and entertained; ſo "ye will, reſpecting your ancient honour and genero- "ſity, ſend him freely back to his own. Yet if it be "ſo, that ye will have acknowlegement, for what ye "have beſtowed on his education, the diſtreſs of the "preſent eſtate of his ſubjects and crown conſidered, "we will not ſtand upon trifles of mony for the re- "demption of a prince above all price."

The lords of the council were diverſe ways inclined to this embaſſy. Some thought not fit to diſmiſs him; for his remaining in England ſeemed the more to aſſure the kingdom of Scotland unto them: having the king and his children in their cuſtody, what dared they not enterprize, or not bring to paſs? Or if Scotland ſhould plot any thing by way of rebellion, the king having his party within the realm, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh would keep under the other factions; and thus the eſtate by both being made weak, it would be a fair breach for a conqueſt, and the annexing that kingdom to the crown of England: that he knew too much of the eſtate and affairs of England to be ſent away to a nation ever their enemies: that being at liberty and amongſt his own, he might reſent the injury of his long reſtraint.

Others of the council thought it beſt to diſmiſs him. They had learned by experience, that the keeping of the

the king of Scots hindered no ways the Scots from aſſiſting the French; yea, rather that it did exaſperate their choler, and make them in revenge addict themſelves wholly to the French: the governour no ways keeping to the Engliſh, but ſiding with the French, upon whom to be revenged they could find no ſurer way than to ſet at liberty the king, whoſe return of neceſſity muſt needs change the face of the ſtate, and trouble him. As for the conqueſt of the crown of Scotland, it was not at that time of ſuch moment for England, they having the moſt part of France in their ſubjection, which was as much, if not more, as they could hold. Then it would prove a more harmleſs and ſure purchaſe to make Scotland theirs, by the ſucceſſion of lady JANE of Somerſet, than by war; the event whereof is ever doubtful and beyond any aſſurance of man. The liberty of the king of Scots might prevent the encreaſing ſtrength of the king's enemies in France, and ſecure the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth at home: king JAMES being all Engliſh by education, if he proved not of their party, yet he muſt prove neutral to both the kingdoms.

HENRY VI. then king of England, being of underage, was governed by his two uncles of his father's ſide, HUMPHREY duke of Gloceſter, who was made protector of his perſon and realm, JOHN duke of Bedford, who was eſtabliſhed regent of France, and THOMAS duke of Exeter. But HENRY BEAUFORT cardinal, biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England, a man eminent in blood and riches, uncle to the lady JANE, in effect governed all. Theſe gave way, rather than approved that the king of Scots ſhould be ſet at liberty and ſent home. And though they would have diſmiſſed him freely, in reſpect of the dowry of his queen, which was not delivered, having uſe of preſent money for the maintenance of the wars in France, and the more to cover the injuſtice of his captivity, they thought it expedient to ſet a ranſom upon him.

The commiſſioners having met, it was declared, that for a ſufficient ſum of money their king might return, and enjoy his own liberty; the one half to be paid in hand, able hoſtages remaining in England till the other half

half was fully diſcharged. The ranſom agreed upon was four hundred thouſand merks; but by the power of the cardinal the third was diſcharged, for which he was long after accuſed before the king by the duke of Gloceſter.

The governour and eſtates of Scotland, having known the ſum laid upon them for the liberty of the king, though the haſty acquiring of it was grievous unto them, preferring glory and things neceſſary to matters of mony, immediately diſpatched ſo much as could be gathered, together with many young noblemen of the kingdom to remain hoſtages for the reſt; who, according to the Engliſh writers, were DAVID ſon to the earl of Athole, ALEXANDER earl of Crawfurd, the lord GORDON, JOHN DE LINDSAY, PATRICK ſon and heir to Sir JOHN LYON, DAVID DE OGILBY, Sir WILLIAM DE RUTHVEN, MILES GRAHAM, DAVID MOUBRAY, and WILLIAM OLIPHANT. Theſe were honourably received, entertained, and keeped. The king's brother-in-law, the earl of Somerſet, and the cardinal his uncle, accompanied the queen to the borders, and there taking their leave returned back. The king with the reſt of their train, received with many troops of nobles and gentlemen, who ſwarmed from all parts of the kingdom to give him a dutiful welcome into his native ſoil, and themſelves the contentment of beholding one they had ſo long deſired and expected, with loud acclamations and applauſes of the commons as he held his progreſs, on the paſſion week, in Lent, came to Edinburgh.

During his abode there, he aſſembled many of the eſtates, liſtened to their petitions, and prepared for the approaching parliament, which had been ſummoned before his coming. The ſolemnities of Eaſter finiſhed, the king came with his queen to Perth, and from thence, in the beginning of the month of May, to Scone, where, in the year 1424, by MORDOCK the governor, duke of Albany and earl of Fife (to whom that charge by cuſtom of the kingdom did appertain) and HENRY biſhop of St. Andrews, in the 27th year of his age, there was a joint coronation of himſelf and his queen, being according

cording to the computation of the old Scotiſh hiſtory, the hundred and one king of Scotland.

At which time SIGISMOND, ſon to CHARLES IV. was emperor of the weſt; JOHN VII. the ſon of ANDRONICUS, of the eaſt; AMURATH II. great Turk; ALPHONSUS V. king of Spain; CHARLES VII. king of France; HENRY VI. king of England; and with MARTIN V. many claimed the chair of St. PETER.

The ends in calling the parliament were, the coronation of the king, to make the people ſee a prince's authority was come, where they had but lately a governor's; the eſtabliſhing a peace amongſt the ſubjects, and taking away all factions; the exacting a ſubſidy for the relief of the hoſtages in England. To this laſt, the nobles held ſtrong hand, by reaſon many of their ſons were engaged. Here a general tax was condeſcended upon through the whole realm, as twelve pennies of the pound to be paid of all lands, as well ſpiritual as temporal, and four pennies of every cow, ox, and horſe, for the ſpace of two years together. When the commons had taken it grievouſly that the ſubſidy, granted by the ſtates of the kingdom in parliament, was exacted moſtly of them; after the firſt collection, the king, pitying their poverty, remitted what was unpaid, and, until the marriage of his daughter, thereafter never exacted any ſubſidy of his ſubjects. For he would gently ſtrain milk, and not wring blood from the breaſt of his country, rendering the diſpoſure thereof chaſt, ſincere, and pure for expences neceſſary and profitable, not for profuſions, which neither afford contentment nor reputation; for mony is both the nerves which give motion, and veins which entertain life in a ſtate. Amongſt others whom the king honoured, ALEXANDER, ſecond ſon to duke MORDOCK, was dubbed knight.

The parliament diſſolving, the king came from Perth to Edinburgh, where having aſſembled all the preſent officers, and ſuch who had born authority in the ſtate during the time of duke ROBERT and duke MORDOCK, eſpecially thoſe whoſe charge concerned the rents of the crown, he underſtood by their accompts, that the moſt part of all the rents, revenues, and lands pertaining to the crown, were waſted, alienated, and put away,

way, or then by the governors beſtowed on their friends and followers, the cuſtoms of towns and buroughs only excepted. This a little incenſed his indignation; yet did he ſmother and put a fair countenance on his paſſion, ſeeming to ſlight what he moſt cared for. Occaſion thereafter no ſooner ſerved, when he began to countenance and give way to promoters and informers (neceſſary, though dangerous inſtruments of ſtate, which many good princes have been content to maintain, and ſuch who were not bad never denied to hear, but uſing them no longer than they were neceſſary for their ends) to rip up ſecret and hidden crimes, wrongs ſuffered or committed during the time of his detention in England. He received the complaints of the churchmen, country-gentlemen, merchants, againſt all thoſe who had either wronged them or the ſtate, and would have the cauſes of all accuſers to be heard and examined. Here many, to obtain the favour of the prince, accuſed others.

Upon pregnant accuſations, WALTER STUART, one of the ſons of duke MORDOCK, was arreſted, and ſent to the Baſs, to be cloſe kept; ſo was MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, and THOMAS BOYD of Kilmarnock, committed to ward in Dalkeith. Not long after, the nobility interceding, MALCLOM and THOMAS (goods being reſtored which they had taken wrongfully, and fines laid upon them for their offence, promiſing to ſatisfy all whom they had wronged) were pardoned all faults, and then ſet at liberty.

The king, by liſtening to promoters, came to the knowlege of many great inſolencies committed by ſundry of his nobles: which as it bred hatred in him, ſo fear in them, and both appeared to ſtudy a novation: they for their own ſafety, he to vindicate juſtice and his authority. The duke had highly reſented the committing of his ſon, as had his father-in-law the earl of Lenox. The malecontents being many, if they could have ſwayed in one body as they came to be of one mind, threatened no ſmall matter. The king, from the intelligence of cloſe meetings, ſecret leagues, ſome plots of his nobles, began to forecaſt an apparent ſtorm in the ſtate, and danger to his own perſon: whereupon, being

being both couragious and wise, he proclaimeth again a parliament at Perth; where the three estates being assembled, in his throne of majesty he spoke in this manner.

" I have learned from my tender years, that royalty " consisteth not so much in a chair of state, as in such " actions which do well become a prince. What mine " have been since my coming home and government a- " mong you, I take first God, and then yourselves for " witnesses. If all of them be not agreeable to you all, " and if any rigorous dealing be used against some, let " him who is touched lay aside his particular, and look " to the settling of justice in the state, and public good " of the whole kingdom, and he shall find his sufferings " tolerable, perhaps necessary, and, according to the " time, deserved. I have endeavoured to take away " all discords, abolish factions, suppress oppression: as " no foreign power hath attempted ought against you " hitherto, so ye should not endeavour ought one " against another, nor any thing against the weal-pu- " blic and sovereignty. Slow have I been in punish- " ing injuries done to myself, but can hardly pardon " such as are done to the commonwealth: for this have " I called this parliament. Let rapine and outrage no " more be heard of, but every man recal himself to a " civil and regular form of life. Especially you, my " nobles, think virtue and civility true nobility; that " to be accounted noblest which is best, and that a man's " own worth begets true glory. By these, and the o- " bedience to their princes, your ancestors acquired " what ye now enjoy: there is no stronger means to " keep the goods acquired from a prince, than the same " by which they were first purchased, which is still o- " beying. Though by leagues, factions, and the con- " founding of all true policy and order of goverment, " man may imagine he can shun the judicatories of " man; let none, how great soever, conceive he can " save his wrongs unpunished from the almighty hand " of God. Ye must not hereafter count authority, ho- " nesty, and virtue, idle names; nor reckon that right, " which ye may win or hold by dint of sword. For " me, I will behave myself in my proceedings, as I

" must

"must anſwer to God; and for you, my ſubjects, do "ſo as ye ſhall anſwer to God firſt, and after to your "prince whom God hath ſet over you. No man's "greatneſs ſhall appal me in doing right, nor the mean-"neſs of any make him ſo contemptible, that I ſhall "not give ear to his grievance: for I will ſtrive to do "juſtice on oppreſſors, and ſupport the innocent to my "uttermoſt."

Here he eaſily found the power which the preſence of a prince hath over ſubjects: for having confirmed the minds of the parliament, a mutual oath paſſed between him and his ſubjects: the king ſwore, if any made war againſt Scotland, or went about to overthrow the ancient laws of the kingdom, to reſiſt and invade him with all his power: the eſtates ſwore, if any by open rebellion ſhould revolt or conſpire againſt the king, or be found to be the authors of factions and novations, they ſhould aſſiſt and ſide with the king with all their forces, after what manner he ſhould command. A ſolemn act was made, that none of the ſubjects ſhould bind up a league together.

The king, the more to aſſure the clergy unto him, ſwore to defend the liberties of the church, making an act, that all church lands unjuſtly detained from them, during the time of his captivity, ſhould be reſtored unto them.

The body of the eſtates holding good for the king, MORDOCK duke of Albany, with his ſons WALTER and ALEXANDER, were preſently arreſted and committed; as were likewiſe DUNCAN earl of Lenox, and ROBERT GRAHAM (a man that dared attempt thoſe things which no honeſt man ever could think:) they were ſent to Falkland, but the duke to Carlaverook. ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, with WILLIAM earl of Angus, the king's ſiſter's ſon, GEORGE earl of March, and WALTER OGILBY were committed, but after ſet at liberty. ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, THOMAS HAY of Yeſter, with others, were ſent to the caſtle of St. Andrews. That ſame day the duke was committed, the king ſeized on his caſtles of Falkland in Fife, and Down in Monteith, out of which he removed the ducheſs to Tantallon in Lothian. JAMES the young-

eſt

eſt ſon of the duke, whom former carriage and harmleſs behaviour had exempted from all ſuſpicion of treachery, after the committing of his father and friends (whether of a youthful inſolency, or deſperate rage, reſolving to do and ſuffer all extremities, or that he was contemned) accompanied with a number of out-laws, and mountaineers, on the Holy-rood-day, called the invention of the croſs, came to the town of Dumbarton, ſet it on fire, ſurprized there JOHN STUART of Dundonald ſirnamed the RED, uncle to the king, ſlew him with thirty others: after which cruelty, adviſing with fear and deſpair, he fled into Irelend, where he died. The wife of WALTER STUART his brother, with her two ſons ANDREW and ALEXANDER, with ARTHUR a baſe-born, haſted with him, where they remained till the reign of king JAMES III.

The barbarous fierceneſs of JAMES highly incenſed the king againſt his father and race, and diverted the current of his clemency: for when he thought by gentle incarcerations to have reſtrained their malice, now he finds that that deaf tyrant, the law, can only ſecure himſelf, and bring reſt to his ſubjects. Whereupon the year following he calleth a parliament at Stirling, where the eſtates aſſembling, the duke, with his two ſons, and father-in-law the earl of Lenox (accuſations being engroſſed, and articles exhibited againſt them out of the acts of former times, of what had been done unjuſtly, cruelly, or amiſs, during the king's captivity) were preſented, arraigned, and condemned: WALTER earl of Athole being judge, to whom were adjoined many noblemen and barons.

That ſame day on which their fatal ſentence was pronounced, the two young men, WALTER STUART and ALEXANDER, ſons to the duke, were taken forth to the hill which ariſeth againſt the caſtle of Stirling, and had their heads cut off. The day following, MORDOCK duke of Albany, late governor, with DUNCAN LENOX earl of Lenox, was beheaded.

The deaths of theſe noblemen were ſo far from breeding any diſtaſte in the common people, that out of their depraved diſpoſition and envy againſt their betters, they flouted at their fall, reproached their inſolencies, delight-

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in their execution; and as much without reaſon rail-ed on them when they were dead, as they had flat-tered them being alive.

Whether by the wiſdom of the king it hath fallen out, who cauſed aboliſh the indictment, being againſt perſons ſo near unto him in blood, or bluntneſs of thoſe times, which thought ſuch clear evidences needed no records, the particulars of the attainder of theſe great men are ſwallowed up in dark oblivion. Moved at the impriſonment of his ſon, did MORDOCK with LENOX, hating him whom they had wronged, attempt againſt the king's perſon; and that ſame very treaſon which afterwards had ſucceſs, was it then between the plot and the execution ſurprized, and in the very head cut off? The earl of Athole, a man whoſe deſires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, was a great actor in this tragedy. Did the king, ſtanding in fear of their extraordinary greatneſs, bend his eyes upon the diſpoſition of the offenders, ſquaring their actions by the rule of their intentions, and weighing what, not how far they did offend? for princes quickly free themſelves from their very ſhadows in matter of jealouſy of ſtate. And they have great reaſon to prevent ſuch crimes, which cannot be puniſhed when they are committed; nor ſhould they expect to amend a miſchief, when the criminals are become maſters of their judges. People believe not that any conjure againſt a prince, till they find the treaſon to have taken effect, and diſtruſt the plot, till they ſee him dead. But the death of ſuch, who are ſuſpected to be the authors of diſorders in a commonwealth, ſpareth an infinite number of lives, and much civil blood when they are firſt ſurprized; neither are too ſtrict circumſtances of law to be obſerved, when a ſmall delay may aboliſh all obſerving of order and laws.

The duke, to raiſe his own reputation to the diſadvantage of the king, with all ſecrecy of his intentions, had procured himſelf a vaſt authority with the nobles, by a ſemblance of liberality, waſting the patrimony of the crown, as remitting treaſons, reſtoring again lands annexed to the crown. He had ſtudied ſo to conciliate to him the minds of the commons, that the deſire of a king did not much touch them, uſing ſuch moderation

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in his proceedings, that his government ſeemed unto many, not only tolerable, but deſirable.

He had eſſayed to draw the earl of Douglas, and had drawn the earl of March, to enter into a league with him; and theſe noblemen, then in the caſtle of St. Andrews, divided the nobility, and made them break their allegiance to the king. Upon which attempt, it ſeemeth that that act of this king's ſecond parliament was made; "That no ſubjects ſhould league themſelves together."

The king eſteemed all that government of ROBERT and MORDOCK to be an uſurpation of the crown, and feared the like heareafter.

His ſon JAMES had burnt Dumbarton, and treacherouſly killed the king's uncle, which was not done without his knowlege, if not counſel.

Though he relieved the king of his captivity, he ſuffered him to remain very long a priſoner; neither did he practiſe his deliverance, till he perceived the whole ſtates of the kingdom reſolved to call him home, and was compelled by the injuries of his own children.

To exaſperate new injuries by old rancours, his father ROBERT, ſpurred by ambition, had famiſhed to death the king's brother DAVID, in the caſtle of Falkland; to eſcape whoſe tyranny, the king, yet a child, was committed to the protection of ſtranger princes.

Whatever the particulars of their accuſations have been, it is above the poſſibility of any governor, or man in eminent place and authority, ſo to carry himſelf, but a diſcontented prince, if he will ſet him to a trial, ſhall bring ſome one or other of his actions to whirl him within the compaſs of juſtice. Thus the imprecation of ROBERT III. took effect upon the race of ROBERT the governor: for after the death of the duke of ROTHESAY, he is ſaid to have curſed him moſt deadly, praying, as he had ſlain his brother's ſon, and filled their houſe with blood; ſo God would puniſh him, his ſtock and poſterity. There is not any wickedneſs, which beareth not its puniſhment and repentance at the laſt, if we can have patience to attend the laſt act of thoſe tragedies played on this theatre of the world. By the attainder of the duke, the earldoms of Fife, Monteith,

Monteith, and Lenox, were devolved to the crown. The caſtle of Inch-Merin in Loch-Lomond, which had a while been kept good for JAMES, who fled into Ireland, was by JOHN MONTGOMERY and HUMPHREY CUNINGHAM brought to the obedience of the king.

When the lords and gentlemen who were in priſons, attending the king's pleaſure, underſtood what neceſſary juſtice had been executed upon the duke and his ſons, they were grievouſly perplexed; yet the king, like a wiſe phyſician, would take no more blood than might take away the diſeaſe and all further cauſes of faction. For within twelve months thereafter, he ſets them all at liberty, and received them into his wonted favour, upon promiſe of their loyal demeanour and duteful obedience in time to come. But being thus freely diſcharged, the conceit was taken, that MORDOCK's head, and his ſons, with LENOX's, was only the aim, and that they were uſed but as a countenance of ſtate to dazzle the eyes of the people.

The wars continuing between the Engliſh and the French, the one to keep what he was in poſſeſſion of, the other to re-obtain what he had loſt; CHARLES VII. a wiſe and victorious prince, knowing the friendſhip of Scotland to be of no ſmall importance to any that would fight againſt the Engliſh, the flower and ſtrength of the Scotiſh ſoldiers, which had followed the French wars being then blaſted and ſpent, ſendeth JOHN STUART of Darnley, marſhal of a garriſon of horſemen, with the earl of Douglas, as the French write, then marſhal of France, to Scotland, to have a freſh ſupply of men of arms, and RENAULD of Charters archbiſhop of Rheims, who there had crowned his maſter, and was chancellor of France, to renew the ancient league between the French and Scots. But the main buſineſs about which the archbiſhop came, was the trafficking of a marriage between LEWIS the Dauphine, though then very young, with MARGARET daughter to king JAMES. This match the Engliſh had either neglected or contemned, which afterward they ſued for. The renewing of the old league and amity between the two nations was eaſily condeſcended unto, it being but a

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witneſs to the world of their mutual kindneſs. The chief articles of which were;

The war or injury, moved or done by the Engliſhmen to one of the ſaid nations, to be as common wrong to both.

If the Engliſhmen make war on the French nation, then the Scots, at the coſt and charges of the French king, ſhall miniſter to them ſuccours.

Likewiſe, if the Scots be moleſted by the Engliſh wars, the French nation, having their charges allowed, ſhall be to them aiders and aſſiſters.

That none of both nations ſhall either contract or make peace with the realm of England, without the conſent and agreement of the other.

The marriage being found commodious for both nations, was likewiſe with great contentment agreed upon, and concluded; freſh recruits of ſoldiers were levied, and diſpatched with the ambaſſador to France.

The ſouth and champain parts of Scotland brought under obedience, and a peaceful government, the king will have the remoteſt countries of his kingdom, even thoſe blocked and barricaded by the ſnowy clifts of Grantsben, to acknowlege his juſtice. The wildneſs of the ſoil had made the inhabitants there more fierce than fierceneſs itſelf, and let them out to all unlawful riots and rapines. To reſtrain their inſolent humours, and bring them within compaſs of civility, in the year 1426, he cauſed repair the caſtle of Inverneſs, ſituated in the uttermoſt borders of Murray, which by their incurſions had been turned deſolate. Hither ſome years after cometh he in perſon, and keepeth open court, that being near the evil he might have the better means to provide for, and conſider it. But he ſeemed to have arrived in ſome territory of the Scythians, having known and found things, which none did, nor dared relate unto him: for he had learned that not many miles off, there were men, ſome of which had one thouſand, ſome two thouſand robbers at their call, who were accuſtomed to drive preys from the more civil neighbours and borders, pilling and ſpoiling, polluting and raviſhing, without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane; but only following their ravenous and inſolent humours. On the quieter ſort they ſet tribute;

others

others they compel to miniſter to them ſuſtenance and neceſſaries: the God, prince, law, which they obey, are their barbarous chieftains, among which he is thought the beſt who doth moſt tranſcend in villany.

The king ſeemed to give ſmall faith to theſe relations, entertaining kindly, and feaſting from all parts, all ſuch who deigned to ſee him, moſtly thoſe who were the chiefs and principals of the families in theſe bounds; by whoſe means, all, whom innocency did guard, came freely to court; and many guilty, by fair promiſes and hopes of the king's clemency, preſented themſelves. Others, though moſt refractory, and unwilling at firſt, that they might not ſeem out of the faſhion of their companions, and appear ſuſpected, reſorted thither; thinking theſe offices might be interpreted to proceed of good will and obedience, which were done of emulation. Forty of theſe leaders and chiefs, meeting at once, and being together within the incloſure of the caſtle walls, were ſurprized, and committed to cloſe priſons. Some days after, two, whoſe wickedneſs was throughly known, ALEXANDER MACRORE, or MACRAREY, and JOHN MACARTURE, were hanged. JAMES CAMPBEL, for the murther of JOHN of the iſles, renowned amongſt his own, was beheaded. The reſt, upon hope of further trial, were committed to priſons, of which, for example and terror to others, many were executed; the remains in peaceful manner ſent home, the king having graciouſly exhorted them to a life, according to the law of God and man.

ALEXANDER of the iſles, earl of Roſs, being taken in this trap, was brought by the king to Perth, where he was accuſed of oppreſſion, and many barbarous cruelties were proved againſt him; yet, ſuch was the king's clemency, he was only ſome few days committed, and after lovely advice at the council-table, rather to obey his prince, than render himſelf chieftain of thieviſh troops, he was freely diſmiſſed. But benefits oblige not ignoble minds, and mercy ſhown to a fierce and obſtinate nature diſgraceth the beauty of the clemency of a prince; for no ſooner was he returned to his own territories, where interpreting impriſonment a diſhonour and ſhame to a man of his power and qualities, and telling

telling that a promiſe made by one impriſoned, by the judgment of lawyers themſelves, was nothing worth, he gathered together a rabble ofout-laws and mountaineers, came towards the town of Inverneſs, which peaceably he entered, and was courteouſly received; having before diſperſed his men among the fens and hills towards the weſt, they ſo ſoon as night had brought the inhabitants to reſt, ſpoiled them, and ſet their houſes on fire. And becauſe the caſtle was the place in which he had been ſurprized, he beſieged it with a thouſand lewd fellows practiſed in daily depredations and robberies.

At the noiſe of this cruelty, the gentlemen of the neighbouring ſhires, from all quarters, aſſemble themſelves for the defence of their friends; the king liſteth ſpeedy preparations. At the approach of which, the Clans, CHATONS, and CAMERONS, with other thieving troops, diſperſed themſelves, and fled into their lurking-holes. ALEXANDER, abandoned of their forces, with ſo many as he could keep together, fled into Lochaber, from thence paſſed to the iſles, deliberating to go to Ireland: but things anſwered not his expectation; for by his ſpy, finding that he was way-laid, and that numbers of people, a price being ſet upon his head, in all places laboured to ſurprize him; when he had long continued deſolate and a vagabond, at laſt he began to intercede with his friends at court for mercy to him from the king. Sundry tempt the king's clemency; but he will not promiſe nor aſſure them of any favour, before ALEXANDER in perſon, as ſupplicant, render himſelf and his eſtate to his diſpoſure. Thus finding no eſcape, and deſtitute of all help, he was imboldened to come privately to Edinburgh; there on Eaſter-day, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed in the drag of the multitude, the king being in the church of the Holy-rood at divine ſervice, he fell proſtrate at his knees, beſeeching him for grace, which, at the requeſt of the queen, and other aſſiſters, he obtained. His life and private eſtate was granted him: but that he ſhould do no more harm, and be reduced to a more modeſt behaviour, WILLIAM DOUGLAS earl of Angus was appointed to take him in cuſtody, and that

at within the caſtle of Tantallon. His mother EUPHEME, daughter to WALTER LESLEY, ſometime earl of Roſs, a manniſh implacable woman, who had excited and raiſed her ſon to all that miſchief, was committed to the iſland of St. Colm.

DONALD BALLOCH, couſin-german to ALEXANDER lord of the iſles, a man of a haughty mind, reſenting the king's proceedings againſt his couſin, raiſed a great number of out-laws and robbers, and invaded Lochaber, omitting no cruelty, which enraged ſavages uſe to commit. ALEXANDER STUART, earl of Mar, and ALAN earl of Caithneſs, with ſuch numbers of people, as they could in haſte raiſe, came to defend the country againſt the incurſions of theſe highlandmen, and rencountered them at Innerlochy; where, by an over-weening opinion of victory, which eaſily deceiveth young ſoldiers, imagining they went to fight with untrained, raw thieves, who would never abide their march, and miſregard of martial diſcipline, ALAN was ſlain, and ALEXANDER earl of Mar diſcomfited; and BALLOCH, inſolent of his victory, with a great booty, returned to the iſles. The king at the rumour of this diſaſter, in all celerity with a great army, came to Dunſtaffage, intending from that to paſs to the iſles; which when the Clans and other chief men underſtood, turning their defence into ſubmiſſion, they came in haſte to Dunſtaffage, and humbly begged pardon, laying the fault of the whole rebellion on BALLOCH, and ſome adventuring thieves, many of which BALLOCH had preſſed to that miſchief againſt their minds: the king finding extreme rigour at that time a cure unſeaſonable, taking their oath of fidelity, and that they ſhould purſue BALLOCH and his followers, accepted them into his favour, only tranſporting ſome of the moſt factious along with him. They in few days, to ſeem worthy of the king's mercy, ſurprized a great number of them, three hundred of which died all on gibbets. And puniſhment had taken away a much greater number, had he not conſidered, that there is no man ſo miſerable, who is not a member of the ſtate.

The king, leſt hope of impunity might cheriſh rebellion, reſolves to find BALLOCH, and hearing he

lurked in Ireland, in the bounds of one named ODO, he ſends to have him delivered. ODO, either out of fear of the king's diſpleaſure, or hope of rewards, ſeizeth on him; and ſuſpecting if he ſent him alive, he might by power or ſtratagem ſlight his convoy, chopped off his head, and ſent it to king JAMES, then remaining at Stirling.

The Clans CHATTONS and CAMERONS, ſparing the magiſtrate's ſword, yet executing juſtice by mutual ſlaughters, one of another, had rendered the north very peaceable of that ſcum of thieves: ſome chieftains were ſhut up in faſt priſons, among which, two moſt eminent in all miſchiefs, hating mortally others, and hated of all good men, ANGUS DUFF of Strathnavern, and ANGUS MURRAY: theſe the king, out of policy of ſtate, let out, and ſet at liberty, of purpoſe that they might be thruſt forward into a greater danger. Returning to their wild countries, DUFF, nothing reſpecting the king's clemency, accompanied with many thieves and robbers, driveth a great prey of cattle and other ſpoils from the confines of Murray and Caithneſs; which to recover, ANGUS MURRAY, that he might attempt ſomething worthy of his life and liberty, followeth with a great power of like ſoldiers; having now authority to juſtify his revenge on a guilty enemy, he overtaketh DUFF near unto Strathnavern. There ſtrongly is it fought, neither of the parties being inferior to other in number, cruelty, or deſpair. This conflict continued ſo fierce and eager, that of both ſides there remained ſcarce twelve perſons alive, and thoſe ſo wounded, that juſtice had not whom to purſue. An overthrow delightful and commodious for the peace and quiet of all the honeſt and virtuous ſubjects of theſe countries.

Theſe many executions nothing appalled one MACDONALD born in Roſs, a thief fleſhed in all murders, miſchievous without mercy, equally greedy of blood and ſpoil, who by robberies had acquired great riches. Amongſt other cruelties, he is ſaid to have nailed horſe ſhoes to the ſoles of a widow, becauſe in her grief ſhe had ſworn in haſte to report his wickedneſs to the king. Being brought to Perth by men of his own qualities, with twelve of his aſſociates, the king cauſed them in like

like manner to be ſhod as they had ſerved the woman; and when three days, for a ſpectacle to the people, they had been hurried along the town, his companions were gibbeted, and he made ſhorter by the head.

Groſs enormities cut away, factions repreſſed, the king maketh a progreſs throughout all the parts of his realm, doing juſtice upon all ſorts of malefactors; neither did pardons granted by the late governor avail, it being alleged, that they expired by his death; and though ſmall faults might have been paſſed by ſuch remiſſions, yet horrible and crying crimes were not within the compaſs of ſuch authority. While he thus continues in the adminiſtration of juſtice, the favourable eye of providence looked upon him, and in the year 1430, in the month of October, queen JANE is delivered of two ſons at Holy-rood-houſe, ALEXANDER and JAMES: the one deceaſed in his infancy, the other ſucceeded to his father, and was king. To heighten the joy of his people, and diffuſe it univerſally, many priſoners are ſet at liberty; amongſt which were ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, and Sir GILBERT KENNEDY, the king's ſiſter's ſon; the earl had been kept in Lochlevin, the other in Stirling. They had been committed rather upon ſuſpicion of the times, than men; having ſpoken too freely againſt the preſent government: ALEXANDER earl of Roſs was alſo ſet at liberty. And that the king intended a real and ſincere reconciliation, the earl of Douglas was made parent of his children at the font. At this ſolemnity fifty knights were dubbed, the firſt of which was WILLIAM DOUGLAS, ſon to the earl, who after ſucceeded to his father in the earldom of Douglas.

A ſweet calm diffuſing itſelf through every corner of the realm, the king, imagining the reſt of his reign to be but the enjoying of a crown, ſets his thoughts wholly to the works of peace. Many unreaſonable cuſtoms, which were become to the vulgar laws, had many years continued in his kingdom; theſe he will either have aboliſhed or amended. To this effect he ſelecteth perſons commended for wiſdom, gravity, and uprightneſs of life through his realm, to pry into all abuſes, hear and determine all ſorts of quarrels and ſuits, if any were

brought unto them, whereof the ordinary judges, either for fear dared not, or power of ſtronger could not, or for hatred or favour would not give any perfect judgment. To them he gave full authority to make inquiſition of the breach of penal ſtatutes. Some hereby were puniſhed by fines, others in their lives. He took away the deceit which had been occaſioned by variety of meaſures. For this end certain iron meaſures were appointed to be made, unto which the reſt ſhould be conform and like. Before his reign not only in every town and ſhire, but in every mannor and houſe, different meaſures were current; which abuſe he aboliſhed by parliament.

The roughneſs of the times, and perpetual wars and troubles of his anceſtors, had near taken away the arts and handicrafts, and turned the ſciences contemptible, eſpecially ſince the reign of ALEXANDER III. the commons, by the manifold changes and miſeries of the age, affecting barbarity; the nobles making arms their whole ſtudy and care. To the further advancement of the commonwealth, and that his ſubjects might have occaſion to avoid ſloth and idleneſs, the king from the neighbour continent, and from England, drew unto him the beſt artiſans and manufactors, whom either large privileges or mony could entice or oblige. Of which ſuch a fair number came, and were ſo graciouſly received, that they forgot their native countries, and here made their perpetual abode. And what till this day Scotland enjoyeth of them, owe all their beginning to theſe times. Schools of learning were founded, to which great liberties and privileges were granted; the king well knowing that whatever is excellent in any eſtate, from them had beginning and ſeed, and that there is no better means to ſweeten and tame the wild nature of men, than to buſy their ſpirits with peaceful and ſedentary exerciſes; rude and untrained minds being inclinable of themſelves to tumult and ſedition. To make a neceſſity of learning, he made an act, that none of the nobility ſhould ſucceed to their anceſtors heritage, except they had ſome taſte of the civil law, or practice of the country-cuſtoms; but this after was by them aboliſhed.

Many

Many famous men in all ſciences from the nobleſt univerſities in chriſtendom came hither, as to the ſanctuary of the muſes, where often the king himſelf in perſon graced their leſſons, and when great matters did not withdraw him, was umpire to their harmleſs conflicts. Being himſelf religious, he advanced men learned and of good life to eminent places in the church; and that the beſt deſervers might be diſcerned, he diſtinguiſhed the learned into degrees, making a law, that none ſhould enjoy the room of a canon in any cathedral church, unleſs he were bachelor in divinity, or at leaſt of the canon law. Though he challenged king DAVID, and named him a grievous ſaint to the crown, for dilapidating ſo much rent in extraordinary donations to the church; yet with great coſt and magnificence he founded the convent of Charters in Perth, and beſtowed fair revenues upon it. The excellent ſkill which he had in muſic, and delight in poeſy, made him affect choriſters; and he was the firſt that erected in his own chapels, and the cathedral churches of Scotland, organs; being not much known before his reign to the nation.

Peace hath its own dangers no leſs than wars; yea, often ſuch ſtates as have increaſed their dominions, and become mighty by wars, have found their ruin in a luxurious peace; men by a voluptuous life becoming leſs ſenſible of true honour. The court, and by that example the country, was become too ſoft and delicate, ſuperfluous in all delights and pleaſures. Maſques, banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling, were not only licenſed, but ſtudied and admired: nothing did pleaſe which was not ſtrange and far brought; charity began to be reſtrained, public magnificence falling into private riot. What was wont to entertain whole families, and a train of goodly men, was now ſpent in dreſſing of ſome little rooms, and the womaniſh decking of the perſons of ſome few Hermaphrodites.

To theſe the wiſe king had a while given way, knowing that delicate ſoft times were more eaſy to be governed, and a people given to mild arts and a ſweet condition of life, than rough and barbarous, ſo they turned not altogether womanized; and that it was an

eaſy matter to bring them back again to their old poſture. At theſe abuſes ſome of the ſeverer ſort of the clergy began to carp; yet could they not challenge the prince, who in the entertainment of his own perſon, ſcarce exceeded the degree of any private man, yea was often under the pomp and majeſty of a king. But the blemiſh of all that exceſs was laid on the Engliſh, who by the queen, their country-woman, with new guiſes daily reſorted hither, and turned new-fangle the court. The king not only liſtened to their plaints, but called a parliament to ſatisfy their humours. Here HENRY WARDLAW, biſhop of St. Andrews, highly aggravating the abuſes and ſuperfluities of court and country, all diſorders were pried into, and ſtatutes made againſt them. They aboliſhed riots of all ſorts of pearl (many rivers in Scotland affording them, not only for uſe, but for exceſs;) only women were permitted to wear a ſmall carkanet of them about their necks. Coſtly furs and ermines were wholly forbidden, together with the abuſe of gold and ſilver lace. Penalties were not only impoſed upon the tranſgreſſors, but on workmen which ſhould make or ſell them. Exceſſive expence in banqueting was reſtrained, and dainties baniſhed from the tables of epicures, with jeſters and buffoons. In this year 1430, the firſt of June, was a terrible eclipſe of the ſun, at three of the clock afternoon, the day turning black for the ſpace of an half-hour, as though it had been night: therefore it was after called by the commons *the black hour*.

The laſt and greateſt matter which buſied the king's thoughts, was, the encreaſing of his revenues, and bringing back the demeſnes of the crown: a work no leſs dangerous, than deep and difficile, and which at laſt procured him greateſt hatred. For till then ſmothered malice did never burſt forth into open flames. And though this diligence of the king concerned much the public weal; yet ſuch as were intereſted, by rendering what they had long poſſeſſed, though without all reaſon, eſteemed themſelves highly wronged. The patrimony of the crown had been waſted and given away by the two governors, to keep themſelves popular, and ſhun the envy of a factious nobility. Thus the king

king had neither in magnificence to maintain himſelf, nor to beſtow upon his friends or ſtrangers.

He had adviſedly peruſed all evidences and charters belonging to the crown: hereupon he recals all ſuch lands as had been either alienated from it, or wrongfully uſurped. Together what was wont to be idly given away, as forfeitures, eſcheats and wards, were reſtrained to the crown and kept to the king himſelf.

There remained upon conſiderations of increaſing the demeſnes of the crown, the lands of the earl of March, whoſe father had rebelled againſt the king's father ROBERT; though faults be perſonal and not hereditary, and the heirs of ancient houſes hold little of their laſt poſſeſſors, but of their predeceſſors: thoſe the king ſeized on. The earl proved by good evidences and writings brought forth, that his father had been pardoned for that fault by the regents of the kingdom. He was anſwered again, that it was not in the regents power to pardon an offence againſt the ſtate, and that it was expreſly provided by the laws in crimes of leſe-majeſty, that children ſhould undergo puniſhment for their father's tranſgreſſions, to the end that being thus heirs to their father's raſhneſs, as they are to their goods and lands, they ſhould not at any time, with vaſt ambition in the haughty pride of their own power, plot or practiſe, to ſhake and tear the public peace of the prince and country.

Thus was the remiſſion by the parliament declared void, and earl GEORGE himſelf committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh. WILLIAM earl of Angus, warden of the middle march, WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor, Sir ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, immediately received the caſtle of Dumbar, the keeping of which was given to Sir ADAM HEPBURN.

The king not long after ſet earl GEORGE at liberty, and to ſave him from the like dangers, which were wont to befal his predeceſſors (to fly into England for every ſmall croſs, and light diſpleaſure at court) he beſtowed on him, as it were in exchange, for theſe lands in the Merſe, the earldom of Buchan in the north, with a yearly penſion to be paid out of the earldom of March, ſetting Tay and Forth betwixt him and his too kind friends

of England. Buchan had ſain to the king by the deceaſe of JOHN, who was ſon to ROBERT the governor and earl of Buchan. He was ſlain at Vernueil in France, with the marſhal DOUGLAS, and left no lawful children after him to ſucceed. The earldom of Mar was incorporated alſo to the demeſne royal by the deceaſe of ALEXANDER STUART earl of Mar, who was natural ſon to ALEXANDER STUART, who was the ſon of ROBERT II. He was a man of ſingular proweſs, and in his youth followed the wars under PHILIP duke of Burgundy; he married JANE, daughter to the earl of Holland, and had greatly obliged his country by tranſporting ſtallions and mares hither out of Hungary, the ſtood of which continued long after to his great commendation and the commodity of the kingdom.

The earldom of Strathern was appropriated alſo to the crown by the deceaſe of DAVID STUART earl of Strathern, uncle to the king, who having but one only daughter (who was married to PATRICK GRAHAM, a younger brother of the lord GRAHAM) the earldom being entailed to the maſculine line, was devolved again to the crown. Thus did king JAMES ſucceed to three brothers who were ſons to ROBERT II.

All good men with theſe proceedings of the king were well pleaſed; for if princes could keep their own, and that which juſtly belongeth unto them, they could not be urged to draw ſuch extraordinary ſubſidies from the blood, ſweat, and tears of their people. Yet this was the ſhelf on which this prince periſhed: for many who were accuſtomed to be co-partners of ſuch off-fallings, began to ſtorm and repine at his actions: but none was ſo implacable as ROBERT GRAHAM, uncle and tutor to MILES GRAHAM, the ſon of EUPHEME daughter to DAVID earl of Strathern. For, plotting miſchief, he began to rail, ſpeak in high terms, aſſociate himſelf with others of his own mind. Notwithſtanding that the king anno 1428. in September, had beſtowed on his nephew the lands and earldom of Monteith in compenſation of that of Strathern, to which he pretended right, it being an appenage of the crown.

About this time, ambaſſadors came into Scotland from ERICUS king of Denmark, requiring of king JAMES the

the payment of a yearly tribute, which was due to him, as king of Norway, for the weſtern iſles, according to the covenant and agreement made by ALEXANDER III. king of Scotland, and his predeceſſor MAGNUS, the ſon of ACHO, then king of Norway. The ambaſſador was honourably received, and Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor directed to go with him to Denmark, who there renewed the old league between the realms, ſettled queſtionable matters, and confirmed a perfect amity and ſtedfaſt peace.

Ambaſſadors came alſo from CHARLES the French king, not only to confirm the old amity between Scotland and France, but, for a better aſſurance thereof, to have MARGARET eldeſt daughter to king JAMES (already betrothed to LEWIS the Dauphin, who now was thirteen years of age) delivered to them, and convoyed to France. The Engliſh, foreknowing this alliance, had before ſent the lord SCROOP, with other aſſociates to him in embaſſy, to have the old league between the French and the Scots diſſolved, and to join the king's daughter in marriage with HENRY VI. their king; promiſing, if the king would thereto agree, and join in league with them, that the town and caſtle of Berwick ſhould be delivered to the power of the Scots, with all the lands lying between Tweed and the Re-Croſs, which, when WILLIAM the conqueror granted Cumberland to the Scots, marched England and Scotland, and is now a fragment of a croſs in Richmond-ſhire, near the Spittle on Stanmoor, about which is nothing but a wild deſert.

Having audience, the lord SCROOP ſpake before the council to this purpoſe:

"I am directed hither by my maſter and his coun-
" cil, about a buſineſs, which concerneth the honour
" and profit of the two kingdoms, above any other
" which can be projected; and it is the eſtabliſhing of
" a perpetual peace and concord between them, and
" happily, when it ſhall pleaſe the higher providence,
" their uniting in one body, under one prince, one
" day. How vain the attempting of this heretofore by
" arms hath proved, the world can but too well bear
" witneſs. The many proofs of either's valour againſt

" themſelves having been but a laviſh effuſion of hu-
" man blood. The faireſt way, the eaſieſt means to make
" enmities ceaſe and theſe ancient quarrels, was begun,
" Sir, in your perſon, by the happy marriage of the
" daughter of JOHN duke of Somerſet, brother to king
" HENRY IV, and ſon to the duke of Lancaſter; and
" proſperouſly hath continued theſe years paſt. Now
" that peace may be laſting, and the affections and minds
" of the two nations ſoldered together, our requeſt is,
" That this alliance may be again renewed, by the
" marriage of your eldeſt daughter with our young
" king, a moſt fitting and equal match. And in ſeek-
" ing of her, we crave but our own; ſhe is deſcended
" of our royal ſtem, and if again ſhe be ingrafted in that
" ſtock out of which ſhe ſprang, it is but natural. And
" you, my lords, where can ye find a match more ho-
" nourable for both nations? Where can ye find a bet-
" ter and more profitable friendſhip than ours? Are we
" not a people inhabiting one iſland, have we not both
" one language, are we not of like habit and faſhion, of
" like quality and condition of life, guarded and ſepara-
" ted from the other world by the great depths of the
" ocean? What evil cuſtoms have come into your country
" by your laſt alliance with us? Nay what civility,
" policy, and laudable faſhions, to the confuſion of bar-
" barity, have not followed hereupon? By this the glo-
" ry of both realms will encreaſe, either being ſufficient
" not only to furniſh neceſſaries, but even all lawful
" and moderate contentments of life to ſupport others.
" Beſides that, an aſſurance of defence, ſtrength and
" power to invade, and eaſe in undergoing public
" charges, will hereby follow.

" We are not ignorant that your lady is deſigned for
" France; but how long, alas, will ye continue prodi-
" gal of your blood for the French? What have ye ad-
" vantaged yourſelves by your alliance with France,
" ſave that they engage your bodies in their wars, and
" by conferring upon you unprofitable titles of honour,
" take from you what is truly real? Ye are reſerved as
" a poſtern-gate, by which they may enter England,
" diverting our forces, and tranſporting the ſtage of
" the war upon our borders. Learn to forget your
" French;

French; or if ye be ſo enamoured with France, love her after our manner; come take a ſhare, be partakers of our victories. Are not our forces, being joined, ſufficient to overcome, nay bring in chains hither that king of Bourges, and make ourſelves maſters of his continent? France did never ſo much good to Scotland in twenty years, as Scotland hath had loſs by England for the love and cauſe of France in one. Are not your wounds at Vernueil and Crevant yet bleeding, and all for the French? It hath been your valour, and not the French, which heretofore empeached our conqueſt and progreſs in France: were it not for your ſwords, we had made ere now the loftieſt tops of the Alps or Pyrenees bear our trophies. Ye ſay, ye reverence and cannot break your old league and confederation with that kingdom. Happy leagues, but wo to the keepers of them! Unhappy Scotland, and too too honeſt; and the more unhappy, for that thy honeſty is the great cauſe of thy mishaps! How long ſhall that old league (counted amongſt the fables of the ancient Paladines) make you waſte your lives, goods, and fortunes, and loſe your better friends? The genius of this iſle ſeemeth to cry unto us her nurſelings to ſtay our cruel hands, no longer to be her deſolation, and the wrack one of another, not to paſs over and neglect theſe fair occaſions of mutual alliances, which will not only effectuate truces and leagues amongſt ourſelves, but at laſt bring a perpetual peace and union: for by interchange of marriages, being united, this iſle ſhall continue ſtronger by entertaining peace and amity, than by all theſe giant walls, rampiers of mountains, and that huge ditch of ſeas, by which nature hath environed and fortified her. Now, that ye may know how dearly we eſteem your friendſhip and alliance, whereas others go to take from you, we will give you Roxburgh and Berwick, and all the lands between Tweed and Re-Croſs. If ſhadows prevail and prove ſtronger with you than eſſential reaſon, and that ye diſeſteem our offer, loſing this good occaſion; we as neighbours and friends entreat you, that ye do not uphold the French now in the ſun-ſet of their for-

" tunes,

" tunes, and at their weakeſt; that ye would not ſhould-
" er this falling wall; but that ye would live quiet with-
" in yourſelves, keeping your own in a neutrality, re-
" ceiving both ſides, French and Engliſh, in the way of
" friendſhip, neither ſide in the way of faction."

The French ambaſſador ſpoke to this purpoſe. It
" ſeemeth ſtrange to me, that it ſhould be queſtion-
" ed, and fall within the circle of deliberation, whe-
" ther old, ever true, and aſſured friends; or old, ne-
" ver truſted, and only enemies, ſhould in an honour-
" able ſuit be preferred: whether ye ſhould ſtand to a
" nation, which, in your greateſt calamities, never a-
" bandoned you; or embrace and be carried away with
" one which hath ever ſought your overthrow. The
" Engliſh ſue for your alliance and friendſhip, but it is
" to make you leave your old confederates, and turn
" the inſtruments of their ruin, and at laſt bring the
" yoke of bondage upon yourſelves. The French ſue
" for your friendſhip, and alliance, both to ſupport
" themſelves, and hold ſervitude from you. Were not
" your friendſhip with France, their power, policy, and
" number had long ere theſe days overturned your re-
" alm; or had France but ſhown herſelf an indifferent
" arbitreſs of the blows between Scotland and England,
" ye had ſcarce till now kept your name, leſs your li-
" berties. Can ye prove ſo ungrateful as not to ſup-
" ply them who ſupported you? Can ye prove ſo in-
" conſtant, after ſo many glorious wounds received in
" the defence of France, as cowardly to turn your
" backs upon her in her greateſt need, defacing all
" the traces of your former fame and glory? With
" what countenances could ye look upon thoſe Scots,
" which at Vernueil and Crevant, in the bed of ho-
" nour, left their lives, if unrevenged ye ſhould ad-
" here and join yourſelves to their enemies and kil-
" lers? Now though ye would forſake the French,
" at this time intangled in many difficulties, not regard-
" ing their well-being, nor ſollicitous of their ſtanding;
" at leaſt, be careful of your own.

" It cannot ſubſiſt with your well and ſafety, to ſuf-
" fer a bordering nation, always at enmity with you,
" to ariſe to that height and power by ſuch an addition

" as

as is the kingdom of France. So ſoon as a ſtate hath a neighbour ſtrong enough and able to ſubdue it, it is no more to be eſteemed a free eſtate. The Engliſh are already become ſo potent, that no leſs than united forces of neighbour kingdoms will ſerve to ſtop the current of their fortune. Neglect not the certain love of the French, your often tried and ancient friends, for the uncertain friendſhip, and, within a little time, forgotten alliances of the Engliſh your late reconciled enemies.

" But it may be, after mutual marriages have one day joined your two kingdoms in one, they will ſeek no pre-eminency over your ſtate, nor make thrall your kingdom, but be knit up with you in a perfect union. Do not ſmall brooks loſe their names when they commix their ſtreams with mighty rivers; and are not rivers ingulfed, when they mingle their waters with the ſeas? Ye enjoy now a kind of mixed government, my lords, not living under abſolute ſovereignty: your king proceedeth with you more by prayers and requeſts than by precepts and commandments, and is rather your head than ſovereign, as ruling a nation not conquered. But when ye ſhall be joined in a body with that kingdom which is abſolutely royal and purely monarchical, having long ſuffered the laws of a conqueror, ye ſhall find a change and a terrible tranſformation. The free managing of your own affairs ſhall be taken from you; laws, magiſtracies, honours, ſhall depend on them; the wealth of your kingdom ſhall be tranſferred to theirs; which to obey and proſtrate yourſelves unto, if ye be found ſtubborn, ye ſhall ſuffer as a nation conquered, be redacted into a province, have deputies and governors ſet over you, garriſons in your ſtrongeſt holds and caſtles, and by a calm of peace and union receive more fearful blows than ye could have ſuffered by any tempeſt of war, the miſeries of a moſt lamentable ſervitude. What courteſy can ye expect at their hands, who, contrary to all divine and human laws, detained your king eighteen years priſoner, and beſides an exorbitant ranſom, as if he had been taken in a lawful war, did not without hoſtages ſend him

" home?

" home? We of France did never forſake you in your " extremities, and we expect ye will aſſiſt us with all " your power. They are in ſuit of your daughter, but " it is long after ſhe was aſſured unto us; in claiming " her we claim but our own. This time paſt ye have " only had the cuſtody and education of her; yet, if " they be ſo ambitious of your alliance, God hath bleſ- " ſed you with more than this. But it is not that which " they ſue for, it is to make you diſclaim your friends, " hate thoſe which love you, and love them which hate " you; and they are working upon you as upon a rude " unpoliſhed people. They offer to render you Ber- " wick and Roxburgh: theſe gifts of enemies are to be " feared; they know it is in their own power to re-ob- " tain them when they pleaſe.

" As for that point, wherein they would have you " indifferent ſpectators of the blows, and that it ſhall " be profitable for you not to meddle with this war. Ye " are too near engaged; neither is there any thing can " be more damageable unto you: for, if ye be not of " the party, ye may aſſure yourſelves that your country " ſhall remain a prey and reward to the conqueror, " with content and applauſe of the vanquiſhed, who is " not bound to ſuccour thoſe who refuſed to aſſiſt and " help him in his neceſſities. Prove firm and conſtant " to us your firſt confederates; combine your forces " with ours, and by the aſſiſtance of that ſupreme pro- " vidence who pitieth at laſt the oppreſſed, we have fair " certainties and true hopes, to cut ſo much work ab- " road to the Engliſh, that they ſhall do little or no " harm to you at home."

The king and nobles, though it ſeemed more profit- able for the preſent time to follow the Engliſh, weigh- ing their offers, yet held it more advantagious, and ſure for times to come, to follow the French. For if the Engliſh ſhould make conqueſt of France, the conqueſt of Scotland would ſcarce be one month's work to their power: And for matter of alliance, God knows how little princes regard it, when occaſion is offered to en- large their power and dominion. Thereupon they de- clare they will not break the ancient league and peace they have kept with France.

The

The Engliſh ambaſſadors, denied of their ſuit, went from prayers and requeſts to threatnings and menacings, and having friendſhip refuſed, denounced war; the king gave his daughter to the French, that they, if they could, would hinder her paſſage by ſea, having already a fleet prepared to this effect. And thus went away the Engliſh ambaſſadors.

The king was ſo far from being moved by theſe threatnings, that immediately he made ready his ſhips; and knowing more affairs to be brought to a good end and finiſhed by the opportunity of occaſions, than by force and power, with an able company of mariners and ſoldiers ſetteth his daughter to ſea.

The Engliſh fleet had waited upon her, but, providence ſo appointing, ſhe eſcaped them, and they encountered a fleet of Spaniards keeping their courſe towards the Netherlands. Them they beſet with fourſcore veſſels, commanding the ladies and all of their company to be delivered unto them: when they would not accept of friendly anſwers, they fall to handy blows, till in end, by loſs of men and ſome ſhips, they underſtood their error. The lady MARGARET, thus without danger by the weſtern ſeas, arrived at Rochel, having for her convoy a whole colony of gentlewomen, the hiſtories ſay an hundred and forty went with her, all of noble parentage, of which train were her five ſiſters. From Rochel ſhe held her progreſs to Tours; there with an extraordinary pomp and magnificence the 24 of June, anno 1436. was ſhe married to the dauphin LEWIS.

The king to defray the charges raiſed by tranſporting and marriage of his daughter (the French ſeeking with her ſmall or no dowry, theſe times preferring parentage and beauty before gold or riches, all that was craved being a ſupply of men of arms for their ſupport againſt the Engliſh) laid a ſubſidy on his ſubjects; the one half of which being levied, and the people grudging and repining at the exacting of the other half (it being taken from men who lived hardly in a barren ſoil) he cauſed render a part of it again, and diſcharged the remainder.

At this time, by ſea and land, the Engliſh, in revenge of the refuſal of the offers of their ambaſſadors, began to uſe all hoſtility againſt the Scots. HENRY PERCY

PERCY of Northumberland invadeth the country with four thouſand men: whether of his own bravery, abhorring eaſe and idleneſs, or that he had a commiſſion ſo to do, is uncertain. With him came Sir HENRY CLYDESDALE, Sir JOHN OGLE, RICHARD PERCY, and many men of choice and worth. The frontier-garriſons invaded all places near unto them. To reſiſt theſe incurſions, WILLIAM DOUGLAS, earl of Angus, getteth charge; a man reſembling his anceſtors in all virtues either of war or peace, and the moſt eminent of his time: with him went ADAM HEPBURN of Hailes, ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON of Elphinſton in Lothian, and ALEXANDER RAMSAY of Dalhouſie, in all being four thouſand ſtrong. Theſe, covetous of glory, beſides the ancient quarrel of the two nations, having the particular emulations of their anceſtors to be ſpurs unto them, make ſpeedy journeys to have a proof of their virtue and courage. The liſts of their meeting was Popperden, a place not far from Bramſton, Rhodam, Roſeden, Eglinham, all cheared with the ſtream of a ſmall brook, named Brammiſh, which, ariſing out of the Cheviot, loſeth its name in the Till, as the Till after many windings diſgorgeth itſelf in the Tweed. ADAM HEPBURN and ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON led the vanguard of the Scots; Sir RICHARD PERCY, Sir JOHN OGLE, of the Engliſh; ALEXANDER RAMSAY and HENRY CLYDESDALE kept the rears. The two generals rode about the armies, remembring them of their ancient valour, the wrongs received, the juſtneſs of the quarrel, the glory of the victory, the ſhame of the overthrow. No ſooner were they come within diſtance of joining, when the ſound of the drums and trumpets was out-noiſed by the ſhouts of the aſſailants, who furiouſly encountered. The guns being about this time found out, were here firſt practiſed between the Scots and the Engliſh in an open field. When the fight with equal order had been long maintained on both ſides, now the Scots, then the Engliſh yielding ground, many of the commanders at length began to fall, moſt of the Engliſh. Then was PERCY conſtrained to be at once commander and ſoldier, but ere he could be heard, ſome companies had turned their

their backs, among the thickeſt throngs of which breaking in, he found ſo great diſorder, that neither by authority, intreaty, or force, he was able to ſtay their flying. Thus diſtracted between the two courſes of honour and ſhame, he is hurried far from the place of fight, and victory declared herſelf altogether for the Scots; which was not ſo great in the execution, as in the death and captivity of ſome brave men. Of the Scots two hundred gentlemen and common ſoldiers were ſlain, among which was ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON, maintaining the battle with his ſword, voice and wounds, and two other knights. Of the Engliſh died Sir HENRY CLYDESDALE, Sir JOHN OGLE, Sir RICHARD PERCY, with fifteen hundred gentlemen and common ſoldiers, of which fourty were knights; four hundred were taken priſoners.

The king irritated by the way-laying of his daughter, the invading of his borders, and encouraged not a little by this little ſmile of fortune at Popperden, it being more ſure to prevent than repel dangers, and with the ſame policy to defend, by which the enemies offend, reſolveth by open war to invade England. He was alſo ſtirred unto this by his intelligence from his friends in France, who had brought greater matters to paſs than in ſo ſhort a time could have been expected: for concealed envy and old malice, burſting out between RICHARD duke of York, and EDMOND duke of Somerſet, PHILIP duke of Burgundy being entered in friendſhip with king CHARLES, the Engliſh began to be daily loſers, and were put out of Paris and many towns of France. To this effect king JAMES having raiſed an army cometh to Roxburgh, a place fatal to his, and there beſieged the caſtle of Marchmont, which is Roxburgh. It was valiantly defended by Sir RALPH GRAY: But when he was come ſo near the end of his labours, that they within the caſtle were driven to terms of agreement and conditions for giving up the fort, the queen in great haſte cometh to the camp, repreſenting to her husband a conſpiracy, the greatneſs of the peril of which, if it were not ſpeedily prevented, ſhould endanger his eſtate, perſon, and race. Whether ſhe had any inkling of the conſpiracy, or contrived this to divert

vert his forces from the aſſault, and farther harm of the Engliſh her friends and country-men, it is uncertain. The king who found his imagination wounded upon this point, after many doubtful reſolutions and conflicts in his thoughts, raiſeth the ſiege, disbandeth the army, and accompanied with ſome choſen bands of his moſt aſſured friends, returneth back, to provide for his own ſafety. A ſtrange reſolution, to disband an army for a tale of treaſon! Where could there be a greater ſafety for a king than in an army? Yet have conſpiracies been often in camps; and in his own time, RICHARD earl of Cambridge, brother to EDWARD duke of York, HENRY lord SCROOP, with Sir THOMAS GRAY knight, at the inſtigation of the Dauphin of France, for a great ſum of mony, conſpired to murder HENRY V. king of England, in the midſt of his armies, if they had not been ſurprized. The king feared all, becauſe he had not yet heard the names of any; but moſt the army, by reaſon of the nobility, many of which, who liked not the preſent form of government, were irritated againſt him. Were the conſpiracy a rebellion, and in general by them all, they were ready in arms to maintain their factions; and if upon ſuſpicion the king ſhould attack any, being ſecretly joined in a league, he would hardly have meddled with their perſons, without a civil war, which, in regard of his engagement with England, he endeavoured to ſpare. Perplexed, penſive, and ſad, he cometh to Perth, ſtayeth in the convent of the Dominicans, named the Black-Friers, a place not far from the town-wall, endeavouring ſo ſecretly as was poſſible to find out the conſpiracy. But his cloſe practiſing was not unknown to the conſpirators, as that there was more peril to reſolve than execute a treaſon, a diſtance of time between the plot and execution diſcovering and overthrowing the enterprize. Hereupon they determine to hazard on the miſchief, before trial or remedy could be thought upon.

The conſpirators were ROBERT GRAHAM, uncle and tutor to MILES GRAHAM, ROBERT STUART nephew to WALTER earl of Athole, and one of the king's ſworn domeſtics: but he who gave motion

motion to all, was the earl of Athole himſelf, the king's father's brother, whoſe quarrel was no leſs than a pretended title and claim to the crown; which he formed and alleged thus. His brother DAVID and he were procreated by king ROBERT II. on his firſt wife EUPHEME ROSS, daughter to the earl of Roſs, and therefore ought and ſhould have been preferred to the ſucceſſion of the crown, before king JOHN, named ROBERT, and all the race of ELIZABETH MOOR, who was but his ſecond wife, and next them, but heirs to king ROBERT II. They were the eldeſt ſons of king ROBERT after he was king, JOHN and ROBERT being born when he was but in a private ſtate, and earl of Strathern: for it would appear, that as a ſon, born after his father hath loſt his kingdom, is not eſteemed for the ſon of a king, ſo neither he that is born before the father be a king. Theſe reaſons he thought ſufficient, the king taken away, to ſet him in the room of ſtate: but conſidered not how ſacred the name of king is to the Scots nation; how a crown once worn quite taketh away what defects ſoever; and that it was not eaſy to diveſt a king in preſent poſſeſſion of a crown, who had his right from his father and grandfather, with the authority of a parliament approving his deſcent, and ſecluding all others; leſs came it in his thought, that thoſe children are legitimate and lawful, which cannot be thruſt back and rejected without troubling the common peace of the country, and opening a gate to foreign invaſions, domeſtical diſturbances, and all diſorders, with an unſettled courſe of ſucceſſion; the common error making the right or law.

ATHOLE animated by the oracle of a ſooth-ſayer of his Highland country, who had aſſured him he ſhould be crowned in a ſolemn aſſembly before his death, never gave over his hopes of obtaining the crown: and being inferior and weak in power and faction to the other brothers, to compaſs his deſigns he betaketh himſelf to treacherous devices. It was not in his power to ruin ſo many at once: for miſchief required there ſhould be diſtance between ſo many bloody acts; therefore he layeth his courſe for the taking away of his kindred one after another at leiſure: He ſoweth jealouſies, entertaineth

tertaineth diſcords, maintaineth factions amongſt them. By his council DAVID duke of Rotheſay, the king's eldeſt brother, was famiſhed in the tower of Falkland: neither had JAMES, then a child, eſcaped his treachery, if far off in England he had not been preſerved. He perſuaded the earl of Fife, that, making out of the way the king his brother, he ſhould put the crown on his own head: he trafficked the return of king JAMES; and, he being come, he plotted the overthrow of duke MORDOCK, by fit inſtruments for ſuch a buſineſs, proving the crimes laid againſt him in the attainder, and he himſelf ſat judge againſt him and his children. Thus ſtirring one of the kinſmen againſt another, he ſo enfeebled the race of ELIZABETH MOOR, that of a numerous offspring there only remained JAMES and his ſon, a child not yet ſix years of age, upon whoſe ſepulchres building his deſigns, with a ſmall alteration of the ſtate, he thought it an eaſy ſtep to the crown.

ROBERT GRAHAM had been long impriſoned, and at laſt releaſed; but being a man implacable once offended, and cruel, whom neither benefits could oblige, nor dangers make wiſe, an enemy to peace, factious and ambitious alike, by many wicked plots afterwards, and crimes againſt the laws of the country, driven to an out-lawry, and to live as baniſhed, he had ever a male-talent againſt the king ſince the adjudging of the earldom of Strathern from his nephew MILES.

ROBERT STUART was very familiar with the king, and his acceſs to his chamber and perſon advanced the enterprize: being a riotous young man, gaping after great matters, neither reſpecting faith nor fame, and daring to attempt any thing for the accompliſhing of his own fooliſh hopes, and his grand-father's aims and ambition. Theſe having aſſociated unto them the moſt audacious, whom either fear of puniſhments for their miſdeeds, or hopes of preferment by a change of the government would plunge into any enterprize; in the month of February, ſo ſecretly as was poſſible, aſſembled together, where the earl ſpake to this ſenſe unto them.

" Theſe engagements which every one of you have " to another, and which I have to every one of you, " founded

" founded on the ſtrongeſt grounds of conſanguinity,
" friendſhip, intereſt, of committed and received wrongs,
" move me freely here to reveal my ſecret drifts, and
" diſcover the depths of my hidden purpoſes and coun-
" ſels. The ſtrange tragedies which in the ſtate and
" government have been acted, ſince the coming of
" this Engliſhman to the crown, are to none of you un-
" known: MORDOCK with his children have been
" beheaded; the earl of Lenox his father-in-law had
" that ſame end; the nobility repine at the govern-
" ment of their king; the king is in jealouſy of his
" nobles; the commons are in the way of rebellion.
" Theſe all have been the effects of my far-mining po-
" licies. And hitherto they have fallen forth as for-
" tunately as they were ingeniouſly plotted. For what
" more ingenious and cunning ſtratagem could be pro-
" jected, to decline the rank growth of theſe uſurpers,
" than to take them away by handles made of their
" own timber? And, if there was any wrong in ſuch
" proceedings, in ſmall matters wrong muſt be done,
" that juſtice and equity may be performed in great.
" My fear was, and yet is, that the taking down of the
" ſcaffold of MORDOCK ſhould be the putting up of ours.
" Crowns ſuffer no corrivals; the world knows, and
" he himſelf is conſcious to it, that the right and title
" to the crown, by deſcent of blood from ROBERT II.
" my father, was in the perſon of DAVID my brother,
" and is juſtly claimed now by me and our nephew.
" As for an act of parliament confirming the right of
" that other race, and for oaths of allegiance, no parlia-
" mentary authority can take away juſtice, and the
" law of God. Neither is an oath to be obſerved, when,
" it tendeth to the ſuppreſſion of truth and right: And
" though for a time ſuch acts and oaths have prevailed,
" our deſigns having good ſucceſs, we ſhall have a par-
" liament approving our right, aboliſhing their preten-
" ſions, and declaring them uſurpers. This one man
" and a child taken away, if we can give the blow,
" the kingdom muſt obey the lawful ſucceſſor; againſt
" whom what ſubject will revolt, or who dare take arms?
" And here is more fear than danger. But think there
" were; the only remedy of imminent dangers is new
" dangers.

" dangers. It was ſimplicity in him to think by ſmall " benefits that old injuries are aboliſhed and forgot, and " that I ſhould take patiently the title of earl, when " I ſhould have been king myſelf. By his tyranizing " juſtice, if he be not hated, he is not beloved, " but become terrible to his people, who now through " their poverty and grievances affect a novation, and " obey him not out of any affection, but through neceſſity and fear; and now he alſo feareth, that ſome do " that to him which he hath deſerved.

" Let us reſolve his doubts; our ends are honour and " revenge, our wills againſt him all alike and one. The " heavens ſeem to conſpire with us, having brought " him to disband his army, and render himſelf in the " wiſhed place of our attempts; and let us rather follow them and fortune, which favours great actions, " than virtue that preacheth cowardly patience; remembring how fair gloſſes of valour for the moſt part " have been caſt on the fouleſt deeds, and the mightieſt " families have from them derived their honours, ſhame " ſeldom or never following victory, however it be atchieved and purchaſed. That ſovereignty at the " firſt was but a violent uſurpation of the ſtronger over " the weaker. How great enterprizes muſt begin with " danger, but end with rewards, that death ſhould rather be prevented than expected, and that it is more " honourable to die, than prolong a life in miſery, " wandering in the ſcorn of other mens pride. Be reſolute in our plot, put the enterprize in execution. " Haſte is the ſpirit of actions of danger. The worſt " that can befal us is, ſince we cannot ſubſiſt he being " alive, that he be taken away, whilſt we run a hazard " of death, which happeneth to all men alike, with " only the difference of fame or oblivion with poſterity, " which ariſeth of an evil action, as well as of a good, " if the action and attempt be great. But let us not " ſpend the time of execution in deliberation."

Not long after, when they had pondered and digeſted the deſign, GRAHAM and STUART, with their accomplices, guided by reſolution, and guarded by the darkneſs of the night, came to the Black-Friers of Perth, and having the way made open unto them, entered the gallery

gallery before the king's chamber door, where they attended ſome of their confederates, who ſhould have ſtoln away the bar, by which means they might enter the chamber: but before their coming fortune caſteth the occaſion in their hands.

For WALTER STRATON, one of the king's cupbearers, came forth of the chamber, and finding armed men ruſhing rudely to force their entry, terrified with the boldneſs of the fact, with a high voice gave the alarm of treaſon to his maſter. While they are working his death, a maid of honour, of the name of DOUGLAS, got to the door, and eſſayed to ſhut it; but, for that the bar was now away which ſhould have made it faſt, ſhe thruſt her arm in the place where it ſhould have paſſed; but, that eaſily broken, the conſpirators ruſh into the chamber, and ſlaying all ſuch of the waiters as made defence (amongſt which was PATRICK DUNBAR, brother to GEORGE ſometime earl of March) they at laſt ſtruck down the king; whom whilſt the queen by interpoſing her body ſought to ſave, being hardly pulled from him, ſhe received two wounds, and he with twenty eight, moſt towards the heart, was left dead.

Thus was JAMES I. who had ſo ſuperabundantly deſerved well of the commonwealth, murdered the 21ſt of February, in the end of the year 1436, the 44th of his age, when he had reigned 13 years.

This king was, for the proportion and ſhape of his body, of a middle ſtature, thick and ſquare, rather ſomewhat mean than tall, not ſuch as is counted for dainty, but for gracefulneſs and majeſty. His hair was abourn, a colour between white and red. He was of ſo ſtrong and vigorous a conſtitution, that he was able to endure all extraordinary extremities both of travel and want; and ſurpaſſed for agility, and nimbleneſs in any exerciſe, his companions. He was of ſo ſharp and pregnant a wit, that there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit conſiſted, or any ſhadow of the liberal arts did appear, that he had not applied his mind unto; ſeeming rather born to letters than inſtructed. He wrote verſes, both Latin and Engliſh, of which many are yet extant. He exerciſed all inſtruments of muſic, and equalled

equalled the beſt profeſſors thereof. He had ſtudied all philoſophy, but moſt that which concerns government; in which what a maſter he was, the order, which he eſtabliſhed in ſuch a confuſion as he found in the ſtate, doth witneſs, and many old laws commodiouſly renewed and amended, others for the public good eſtabliſhed. He was a great obſerver of religious forms; eaſy for acceſs, fair in ſpeech and countenance, in behaviour kind, uſing ſleep and meat to live, not for voluptuouſneſs. He had good command over his paſſions, his deſires never being above his reaſon, nor his hopes inferior to his deſires. Though he was much obliged to the gifts of nature, yet was he more to his good education and training in England. Scarce had he paſſed the ninth year of his age, when he was committed to the ſea to ſhun the treaſons of his uncle, and was ſurprized at Flamborough-head in Holderneſs. Windſor caſtle kept him a priſoner, but by commandment of king HENRY he was ſo carefully inſtructed, that no prince could have been better bred in the ſchools of Europe. What his valour was, the wars of France bear witneſs: for accompanying the king of England there, he laid ſeige to the town of Direx, and with ſuch violence and valour, ſaith the Engliſh hiſtory, aſſaulted it for the ſpace of ſix weeks, that with main ſtrength he compelled it to be rendered into his hands, and gave it to king HENRY. That commendation which was given him by that ſame king of England, being recorded by their writers, proved prophetically true of him: for the king remembring him of his benefits received, and promiſing him greater, with free liberty to return to his own country, if he could cauſe the Scots, who were adherent to the Dauphin of France, to return to their native ſoil, and leave him: To this he anſwered, *He was a priſoner, had no poſſeſſion of his realm; that he was neither ſworn to his ſubjects, nor they by any oath of allegiance bound to him, and though he were bound to them, and they to follow his commandment, he would foreſee whether it were to him honourable, and to his realm honeſt, to leave their old friend of France in his extreme neceſſity without aid or comfort.* With this anſwer, though the king was not content, when JAMES went out of his preſence, he is recorded

to

to have ſaid, *Happy ſhall they be which ſhall be ſubjects to a king endowed with ſuch wiſdom of ſo tender years of age.* His ſeverity in juſtice was traduced by ſome under terms of cruelty; but conſidering the diſorders of his country, by the fierce nature of the people over whom he ruled, who by often rebellions did not only exaſperate him to ſome ſeverity, but even conſtrain him to keep them in awe, his rigour was rather an effect of neceſſity than of his natural diſpoſition. No prince did more reverently entertain peace at home amongſt his ſubjects, nor more willingly conclude the ſame amongſt ſtrangers. There is no prince more cruel than he, who by a facility and evil-meaſured pity, ſuffers robberies, rapes, murders, and all ſort of oppreſſion and abuſes to overturn his country, in which a whole ſtate is intereſted, when the ſtricteſt juſtice toucheth but ſome particular perſons. By him abuſes were reformed, defects repaired, ſedition and diſcord was put from the nobles, equity and induſtry reſtored to the country, every man had a certainty of enjoying his own with ſecurity. Into all men was either infuſed a will to do well, or a neceſſity of ſo doing impoſed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes puniſhed. The mean man did reſpect the great, not fear him; the great man did precede the mean, not contemn him; favour was maſtered by equity, ambition by virtue: for the excellent prince by doing well himſelf, had taught his ſubjects ſo to do.

He was one of the worthieſt of all the kings of Scotland till his time: Of the former kings it might have been ſaid, The nation made them kings, but this king made that people a nation. He left behind him one ſon and ſix daughters, king JAMES II. MARGARET wife to LEWIS XI. king of France, ELIZABETH ducheſs of Bretaign, JANE firſt of Angus, and then counteſs of Huntley, ELENORA married to SIGISMOND archduke of Auſtria, MARY wife to the lord of Campvere, and ANNABELLA. He was buried in the Charterhouſe of Perth which he had founded, where the doublet in which he was ſlain was kept almoſt to our time as a relic, and with execration ſeen of the people, every man thinking himſelf intereſted in his wrong.

The rumour of his murder blazed abroad, it is incredible what weeping and ſorrow was through all the country; for even by them, to whom his government was not pleaſant, he was deplored, and the act thought execrable. The nobles, of their own accord and motion, from all parts of the kingdom, aſſembled and came to Edinburgh, and ere they conſulted together, as if they had all one mind, directed troops of armed men through all the quarters of the kingdom, to apprehend the murderers, and produce them to juſtice. Such diligence was uſed, grief and anger working in their minds, that within the ſpace of forty days all the conſpirators were taken, and put to ſhameful deaths. The common ſort, as CHRISTOPHER CLAWN, or COLHOUN, and others that were of the council in the conſpiracy, having had art or part in the plot, were hanged on gibbets. The chief actors, that the commonwealth might publicly receive ſatisfaction, were made ſpectacles of juſtice by exquiſite torments. The puniſhment of Athole was continued three days: on the firſt he was ſtriped naked to his ſhirt, and by a cran fixed in a cart, often hoiſed aloft, disjointed, and hanging ſhown to the people; and thus dragged along the great ſtreet of the town. On the ſecond he was mounted on a pillar in the market-place, and crowned with a diadem of burning iron, with a placard bearing, *The king of all traitors:* Thus was his oracle accompliſhed. On the third he was laid naked along upon a ſcaffold, his belly was ript up, and his heart and bowels taken out and thrown into a fire flickering before his eyes. Laſtly, his head was cut off, and fixed in the moſt eminent place of the town, and his body ſent in quarters to the moſt populous cities of the kingdom to remain a trophy of juſtice.

His nephew ROBERT STUART was not altogether ſo rigorouſly handled, for that he did but conſent to others wickedneſs, being only hanged and quartered.

But for that it was notorious ROBERT GRAHAM had embrued his hands in the king's blood, a gallows being raiſed in a cart, he had his right-hand nailed to it, and as he was dragged along the ſtreet, executioners with

with burning pincers, tore the moſt fleſhy parts off his carcaſe. Being niped, torn and flayed, his heart and entrails were thrown into a fire, his head exalted, and his quarters ſent amongſt the towns, to ſatisfy the wrath and ſorrow of the injured people. Being aſked during his torture, *How he dared put hand in his prince?* He made anſwer, *That having heaven and hell at his choice, he dared leap out of heaven and all the contentments thereof, into the flaming bottoms of hell:* An anſwer worthy ſuch a traitor!

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, then legate in Scotland for pope EUGENIUS IV. afterward pope himſelf, having ſeen this ſudden and terrible revenge, being a witneſs of the execution, ſaid, *He could not tell whether he ſhould give them greater commendations that revenged the king's death, or brand them with ſharper condemnation that diſtained themſelves with ſo hainous a parricide.*

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN of JAMES II.

SCARCE were the tears dried for the loſs of the father, when the three eſtates of the kingdom meet, and, at Holy-rood-houſe, ſet the crown upon the head of the ſon, then a child, in the ſixth year of his age. The government of the realm is truſted to Sir ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON of Callander; the cuſtody of the king's perſon, with the caſtle of Edinburgh, are given to the chancellor Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON; men (for that they had been ever faithful to the father, without apparent vices, of no capacity to ſucceed, nor entertaining aſpiring thoughts for a diadem) held worthy of theſe charges and dignities. Good men may ſecure themſelves from crimes, but not from envy and calumnies; for men great in truſt in public affairs are ever aſſaulted by the ambition of thoſe who apprehend they are leſs in employment than they conceive they are in merit,

ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas grudged mightily that the ſtate had beſtowed thoſe honours upon men far inferior to him, as though by this the many merits of his anceſtors had been forgotten, and his own ſervices neglected; they being ever accuſtomed in times of peace to be neareſt the helm of the ſtate, and when any danger of war blazed, ſent abroad to encounter it. In a confuſion of thoughts being diverſly toſſed, he retireth

to his own caſtles, and after great reſolves, proclaimeth that none of his vaſſals or tenents, eſpecially within Annandale and Douglas-dale, parts remote from the more civil towns of the kingdom, ſhould acknowlege the preſent government, or obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations, whereunto the governor's or chancellor's hands were ſet. If any queſtion of law or contention aroſe amongſt his friends, vaſſals, and tenents, he knew none fitter to be their judge, ſentence all their wrongs, atone, and take up their quarrels, than himſelf. To diſcover to the world the weakneſs of the two rulers, and how men never ſo well qualified, ſmall in means, and ſilly of power, were not for great places; he giveth way for the increaſing of evil; overlooking many diſorders of which he was the ſecret cauſe, eſpecially the inſolencies of vagabounding and ravaging borderers, men of purpoſe ſent forth to ſpoil and rifle the more quiet parts of the country, and to cut out work to theſe ſtrengthleſs ſtateſmen, as he named them. Thus, as overcome with ſloth and pleaſure, he paſſed ſome months amidſt country contentments, expecting what effect time would bring forth of the equal authority of thoſe two governors: for to fit minds equal in authority to ſo even a temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting, he thought impoſſible. Neither did this conjecture fail him, the event being the only judge of opinions: for after this the governor began to jar with the chancellor for ingroſſing wholly to himſelf from his partner the perſon of the king, as an honour which could not altogether be ſeparated from his place, and which would give the greater authority to his proceedings; urging that the chancellor in many other matters, had uſurped and taken upon him more than the parliament had granted. The chancellor was no better affected toward the governor; what the governor commanded to be done, he, one way or other, overturned. The buildings of the one were by the other demoliſhed: by common and continual brawlings thus living in turmoil, neither of them was obeyed, the country uſurped a licentious liberty, every man doing what he thought beſt for his particular advantage and gain. The remote villages of the kingdom are left a prey

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to the lawleſs multitude: where their authority is ſcorned, they turn places of robbery; where admitted, places of faction.

The queen all this time, after her ordinary cuſtom, remained in the caſtle of Stirling. The diviſions, partialities, and jealouſies of the rulers, ſhe taketh in an evil part, knowing uſually they had a dangerous conſequence. She had ever found the governor ſincere and loyal in his proceedings; againſt his council and will her ſon was kept from her by the chancellor, whom the great ones hated for poſſeſſing the king, for drawing to offices of beſt truſt and benefit his own creatures, diſplacing ſuch as he ſuſpected to favour his partner in rule: and the commons loved him not, as managing every thing after his pleaſure to their damage and loſs. Tranſported by divers motions, ſhe at laſt reſolveth to change the game of ſtate, and by a womaniſh conceit to befool maſculine policy. To effectuate her purpoſe, ſhe came to Edinburgh, and by many fair and paſſionate ſpeeches obtained of the chancellor to enter the caſtle, and delight herſelf ſome days with the company of her ſon. Then to countenance her plot, ſhe giveth out a pilgrimage intended by her to the white kirk in Buchan: there will ſhe make offerings for the health of the king, and perform her other vows. The honeſt ſtateſman, who thought it diſloyalty to diſtruſt a queen, and a mother whom years had made reverend; and impiety to hinder ſuch religious intentions, giveth leave to herſelf, with ſome ſervants, to remain in the caſtle, and to tranſport her houſhold-ſtuff and other neceſſaries after what manner ſhe pleaſed. In this time ſhe perſuadeth the king, wantonly ſet and delighting to be obſequious to her, his mother, to be handſomely couched in a trunk, as if he had been ſome fardel of her apparel, and convoyed by one of her truſtieſt ſervants upon a ſumpter-horſe to Leith: from whence he was put forward by water to Stirling, there received by the governor, and welcomed with great joy and laughter, at the manner of their ſo quaintly deceiving the grave man.

By this advantage the reins of rule were now taken by the governor; the queen's trick is approved, his own proceedings are ſtrengthened and confirmed. Proclamations

mations are made againſt the chancellor, and he charged to render the caſtle of Edinburgh to the king: which he refuſing to do, by a great power raiſed by the governor of the country, and the queen's, and his own followers, he is beſieged and blocked up within the caſtle.

The chancellor ready to fall in the danger, conſidering he had to do with too ſtrong a party, imploreth the aſſiſtance of the earl of Dowglas: but the earl, as a matter he had long expected and earneſtly wiſhed might fall forth, refuſeth to aſſiſt any of them, ſaying, it belonged not to the ancient nobility to ſuccour theſe muſhroms, whoſe ambition with no leſs could be ſatiated, than the government of the whole realm. This diſdainful anſwer procured a meeting of the two rulers, which concluded in the rendering of the caſtle to the governor, and a promiſe of true friendſhip between them, that they might not prove ſport to the envious nobility. The governor, to ſhew the roundneſs of his intentions and his honeſty, continueth the chancellor in his office; and reſtoreth him to the keeping of the caſtle of Edinburgh. After this agreement the earl of Douglas left this world at Reſtalrig, the year 1439. leaving behind him a ſon born of the earl of Crawfurd's daughter, named WILLIAM, who ſucceeded to his father's honours and ambition.

MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld and ALAN LAWTHER, upon this young earl's oath of allegiance to the crown of France, obtain to him from the French king the duchy of Turrain; which his father had enjoyed, and was at firſt given to ARCHIBALD his grand-father ſlain at Vernueil. This foreign dignity, with his titles at home, made the young man very haughty, and to forget moderation; diſcretion in youth ſeldom attending great fortunes. He ſurpaſſed far the king in his followers and train, being accuſtomed to have hundreds of horſe-men attending him; moſt of which were robbers, and men living upon unlawful ſpoils, all under his protection. But, however thus he ſeemed to ſet forth his greatneſs, this ſeemed much to bewray a diſtruſt, and that he rather travelled amongſt

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a people which hated him, than amongſt his friends and men lovingly diſpoſed.

JAMES STUART ſon to the lord of Lorn, about this time married the queen dowager, not ſo much out of love to her perſon or dowry, as out of ambition, by her means intending to reach the government of the ſtate, and get into his cuſtody the perſon of the king. And that it might rather ſeem the work of others out of conveniency, than any appetite of his own, he ſo inſinuateth himſelf with the earl of Douglas, that the earl eſſayed to lay the firſt ground-work of his aims. The governor, who never wanted his own ſpies near the queen, at the firſt inkling of this novation, committed both him and his brother WILLIAM in the caſtle of Stirling. The queen, whether ſhe followed her husband, or was reſtrained, uncertain, ſtayed with them, and now began to repent her of the former courteſies done to the governor; wiſhing her ſon had yet remained in the cuſtody of the chancellor, who, not ſo diſpleaſed at their impriſonment, as he appeared in outward ſhow, delighting in the errors of his partner, by ALEXANDER earl of Huntley trafficked and wrought their liberty. Thus inſinuating himſelf in the queen's favour, he irritated her againſt the governor; whom yet outwardly he entertained with ceremonies of friendſhip, approving his ſagacity in preventing a ſtorm in the ſtate before it brake forth. Here the governor found how that ſame key which can open a treaſure can ſhut it up; for after this the queen prepared her ſon for a change. The governor carefully miniſtring juſtice at Perth, the chancellor one morning cometh to the park of Stirling where the king was hunting, by the providence of his mother more early raiſed for this ſport. She bewailed the preſent eſtate of his court, "That he "was thralled to the covetouſneſs and pleaſure of others, "living under the power of a man greedy of rule: "that a king of France is declared to be of full years "and major the forteenth of his age. That a prince "ſhould transfer his affection eſpecially in tender years. "That by an eſcape he might enjoy a princely free-"dom, better know himſelf, and make his rulers reliſh "his authority. That three hours were ſometimes of

" more importance than three days, and one hour of " more than all the three. That he ſhould take hold " of the preſent occaſion offered him."

Prepared with ſuch informations he is no ſooner accoſted by the chancellor, when, approving his motions, he poſteth towards Edinburgh with him; received all the way as he went with many companies of the chancellor's friends and attendants. The governor finding the face of the court altered, by a king young in years and judgment, poſſeſſed by his mother, diſſembling his intereſt, in a patient and calm manner cometh to Edinburgh. There, after long conference and mediation of friends in St. Giles's church, he meeteth the chancellor, and by the biſhop of Murray's and Aberdeen's diligence, an agreement is between them concluded, which was, that the king ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the chancellor, and the governor ſhould ſtill enjoy his charge. Amongſt theſe diviſions of the rulers, the queen all this time handſomely kept ſome authority, affecting and entertaining ſometimes the one of them, ſometimes the other, as by turns they governed the king and ſtate.

The many and great diſorders in the country invited a parliament: The authority of magiſtrates was deſpiſed, no juſtice was adminiſtred in many places; few could keep their goods, or be aſſured of their lives, but by taking themſelves to the ſervitude of one faction or other. Troubles aroſe in the weſt by the ſlaughter of Sir ALAN STUART lord Darnley, killed by Sir THOMAS BOYD; and by the revenge of his death, taken by Sir ALEXANDER STUART of Bolmet his brother, upon the BOYD. The highland iſlanders invade the territories adjacent to them, ſpoil and burn the Lenox, where JOHN COLQUHOUN of Luſs is maſſacred. Theſe cruelties and inſolencies againſt all juſtice and authority, being avouched ſuch to be, were held fit to be remedied, and courſes laid down to obviate them. But WILLIAM earl of Douglas, permitting wickedneſs, and winking at miſchief, often approving them for lawful and good policy, whilſt he neither reformed them himſelf by his power, nor ſuffered the rulers to proceed againſt them by their authority, purchaſed to himſelf the name and reputation of a lawleſs and ſtrong oppreſſor. The three

three eſtates aſſembled, complaints being given up againſt oppreſſors, moſt againſt him and his followers, as the ſource from which the miſeries of the country ſprang, he appeareth not, nor any to anſwer for him.

The parliament determineth to proceed by way of rigour againſt him: but to this the two rulers oppoſe, perſuading them: "That fair ſpeeches and entreaties, "were a ſafer and eaſier way to draw unto them a young "man, mighty in riches and power, arrogant by his "many followers and vaſſals, than to give out a ſen- "tence againſt him before he were heard, and by "threatenings ſtir his turbulent and ambitious thoughts, "which, inſtead of making him calm, might turn his "neutrality into a perfect rebellion, and his inſolency "into madneſs and deſpair. Neither, as the preſent "ſtate of the country ſtood, could he without civil blood "be commanded and brought in, which by moderation "might be effected. That verity enjoyed not always "that privilege to be ſpoken in every place and time: "it was good to keep up in ſilence matters concern- "ing him, the ſpeaking of which might produce any "dangerous effect.

Upon this, letters in their name are ſent unto him; "Remembering him of the ſplendor and glory of his an- "ceſtors, the place and dignity he poſſeſſed by them in "parliament: that without his preſence they neither "would nor could proceed in great matters. If he "apprehended any cauſe of let or ſtay by the offences "and diſorders committed by his attendants and fol- "lowers, they would freely remit them, as accidents "following the injury of the times, and his yet tender "years, his greateſt fault being his giving way, out of "raſhneſs and negligence, to the faults of others. That "of himſelf they had conceived ſuch ſingular hopes of "great towardneſs and all virtues, if he would come "and take a part with them, giving in his complaints "and grievances, he ſhould not only have full ſatis- "faction, but be honoured with what place or charge "in the government he liked beſt: by honouring them "with his preſence he ſhould oblige not only his "country infinitely, but particularly every one of them

"to

" to ſtand for him to the utmoſt of their powers and " wiſhes.

This letter wrought powerfully upon the mind of the earl, by nature and years, deſirous of glory and preferment, and believing eaſily that which was plauſible to his hopes. His friends, who now began to promiſe to themſelves new heavens, think upon great matters, and forecaſt to themſelves by the change of their lord's fortune, a change of offices in the ſtate, perſuade him likewiſe to come to the parliament; and they divulged the certainty of his progreſs. The chancellor, when he underſtood he was upon his way, rode forth of Edinburgh to meet him, and by many obſequious compliments and friendly blandiſhments, allured and drew him to his caſtle of Creighton which was in his way: where ſome days he reſted, and was honourably entertained. Amongſt many healthful admonitions by way of counſel, he told him, " That the greatneſs of a ſubject conſiſted in due obe- " dience to his prince, whom he ſhould acknowlege to " be his lord and maſter. That by obedience, he would " vindicate the name and families of the DOUGLASSES, " not only from blame of treaſon, but from all ſuſpi- " cion of novations. That he would endeavour to exe- " cute juſtice more ſtrictly than he had done in times " paſt, not protect oppreſſors againſt law and equity, " but ſuppreſs all inſolencies againſt thieves and robbers, " becauſe cruelties and wrongs never ſtood ſecure be- " fore either God or man. That the eſtates of ancient " houſes were often maintained more by reputation of " things done, than any other foundation, which a lit- " tle diſobedience to a prince might ſhake, if not alto- " gether ruin. That it was fatal to all princes in their " under-age, and the beginnings of their reigns, to have " troubles and ſeditions, and be tormented by ſome of " their ſubjects who ſtudied novelties: but when theſe " princes came to perfect years, they knew well to cha- " ſtiſe thoſe who troubled the government in their " youth. That he would hereafter rather content himſelf " with mediocrity, than expoſe himſelf as a mark to " envy. That he would make a proof of his power, " not in exceſs and riot, or pride of his ancient ho- " nours, but in bounty and religious charity towards his " country-

" country-men. That he wiſhed, as his houſe had " long continued, it might, by following what he had " ſpoken unto him, ever flouriſh."

The earl, of a good inclination, if flatterers and wicked company had been removed, took in good part his advertiſements and counſel, thinking he ſpake as he thought; and, perhaps, then ſo he did; for he had not yet put on his double viſage; and promiſed to repair what offences by youth, negligence, raſhneſs, or rather indiſcretion, had eſcaped him. Thus, with his brother DAVID, the chancellor accompanied him to Edinburgh.

He had not long there ſtayed, when the frequent meetings, many ſecret conferences of the governor and chancellor at their ſeveral houſes, which often held the greateſt part of the night, who were not wont to be ſo kind to others, bred a great jealouſy and ſuſpicion in ſome of the earl's friends, that ſome lurking miſchief was a-plotting to intrap him; that ſmall truſt ſhould be had in a reconciled enemy, and his many courteſies, and too exceeding favours, were to be ſuſpected. Hereupon ſome freely counſel the earl to return home, and to leave off private meetings with them. Others intreat him not to enter the caſtle of Edinburgh at all, or if he ſhould, to diſmiſs his brother DAVID, to keep themſelves ſcattered, that they might not be incloſed in one net, as their father, upon his death-bed, had inſtructed and admoniſhed them: for if any violent courſe were intended againſt them, men would not dare to put in act againſt one of them, which they would againſt both. DAVID, preſaging ſome ſtrange accident to follow this ſudden kindneſs of the rulers, was meditating an eſcape. The earl took this counſel in evil part, ſaying, " Great families never wanted turbulent friends " to whom common confuſions ſerved ordinarily for " ſteps to enlarge their ſtates, when peace ſendeth " the moſt part of them home to live private men: " and they cared not what blame were laid on their " chiefs, ſo it ſtood with their own commodity. " That the pretence of his departure would be " worſe than the departure itſelf, and that he would " be obnoxious to worſe ſurmiſes, and more miſerable

" miſtak-

" miſtakings by going away, than if he had never " appeared. That he preferred the approved truſt of " the chancellor, whoſe gueſt he had been, to all " the objections of dangers they could imagine: which " ſuſpicions he requeſted them to ſuppreſs; for to " ſuſpect cauſleſly, inſtead of imagined wrong, re- " turned a real injury; and being known, would be " a mean to breed new jars, and break their begun " friendſhip." Thus blind-folded by deſtiny, and accompanied with ſome of his deareſt friends, amongſt whom was Sir MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, in ſolemn pomp, with his brother, he entered Edinburgh caſtle the 24th of November: the remainder, who were thruſt back, with ſad countenances and diſtruſting hearts, ſcattered themſelves in the town.

The governor, that the envy might be divided and ſhared, and all ſeem to be done by an univerſal conſent, with ceremonious welcome, and ſuch as hate and emulation could ſuffer to be tempered together, did meet him and guide him to the king: at whoſe table he was ſet to dine. Which favours turned the heart of the young earl ſo ſoft and relenting, that he wiſhed he had ſooner come to court, and challenged himſelf of his miſtruſtful thoughts, but more his ſuſpicious friends, whoſe preſence he could have deſired to be witneſs againſt themſelves. The counſel given him at Creighton-caſtle, by obſequiouſneſs, he reſolveth to thank: the king's benign aſpect, and courteſies of the rulers, had advanced him to the higheſt degree of honour.

Amidſt theſe entertainments, behold the inſtability of fortune! near the end of the banquet, the head of a bull, a ſign of preſent death in theſe times, is ſet down before him: at which ſudden ſpectacle he leapt from the table in horror and all aghaſt. But this doth little avail him, he hath no power; for he is ſeized upon by armed men, who ruſhing out of a cruel tiring-houſe, led him to the outer court of the caſtle, not regarding the plaints, cries, and tears of the young king, who pitifully mourned to ſee him manacled with cords: there, with his brother DAVID, and Sir MALCOLM FLEMING, his conſtant friend and co-partner of all his fortunes, he had his head and ambitious thoughts cut off.

off. With this great blow of ſtate the parliament broke up, leaving grief, terror and aſtoniſhment in the hearts of all the people, who ever after hated the actors of this tragedy.

WILLIAM earl of Douglas and DAVID his brother taken away, the baron of Abercorn their uncle, ſucceded to the earldom, by reaſon of his ſtature and corpulency named JAMES the groſs: a man free of any vice or heroical virtue, whoſe years were not many after his fortune to be earl. He was father to ſeven ſons, the eldeſt of which, by a diſpenſation from the pope, he married to BEATRICE, the only ſiſter of his brother's ſon WILLIAM, named, the fair maid of Galloway, not ſo much in reſpect of her beauty as her fortunes; the lands not entailed in Galloway, Annandale, Balveny, and Ormond, falling from the heirs male to be her portion. This marriage was much blamed and cried out upon by the earl of Angus, Sir JOHN DOUGLAS of Dalkeith, and other gentlemen of that name, not, as they gave out, for the propinquity of blood, being between couſin-germans, but that ſo fair and eaſy a purchaſe was taken out of their arms. They had always followed the king, and procured prohibitions of the marriage: but theſe with ſpur-haſte advanced the celebration of it, and upon a Friday, which the common people prognoſticate to be ominous, and to have ſome ſad event.

This earl, ambitious, factious, popular, ſubtile, vindicative, prompt in the execution of his enterprizes, liberal, and far from the dormouſe humour of his father, began to think neither himſelf nor his kindred in ſafety, if the deaths of his brothers and couſins, wrought by the two rulers, remained unrevenged: and therefore, ſince openly, without troubling the common peace of the country, he could not; by ſecret and umbragious ways he laboureth to bring it to paſs: procuring a far off a diſobedience to their decrees, and contempt of their authority, by men in a great diſtance from him in place, blood, friendſhip and familiarity. Theſe who after any faſhion grudged, repined, and complained of the preſent form of government, or aggravated imaginary wrongs, are ſupported and protected by him: His houſes turned places of refuge to diſtreſſed malecontents.

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One JOHN GORMACK of Athole (not without ſuſpicion that he wrought by the motion and order of the earl, and underſtood his cabal) eſſayed with a great number of out-laws to hinder the execution of a malefactor, and take him by main force from the ſheriff of Perth WILLIAM RUTHVEN: but he periſhed in the enterprize. PATRICK GALBRAITH in the caſtle of Dumbarton, for priority of command, killeth ROBERT SEMPLE; and to ſave his perſon, or juſtify his homicide, flyeth to the earl of Douglas, by whom he is protected, notwithſtanding the many informations given in againſt him at court, and his citation to anſwer to juſtice.

The king, whoſe non-age was now near expired, began to reliſh the ſweetneſs of government in his own perſon, and became tired of the long and awful tutelage of his jarring rulers; and the flower of his youth, ſeeming framed for great affairs, promiſed the fruit of a wiſe and happy reign. Finding it difficult to put men daily near unto him, long experienced, and greedy of rule, from high places, except by the entertaining a ſtronger and more powerful faction; he ſetteth his thoughts upon the earl of Douglas: ſmall favours to him would be a great umbrage to the ambition of his tutors, bring them within the compaſs of anſwering to what might be objected to them concerning their ſervice in the ſtate. He would not ſue the earl, but as occaſion ſerved, he gave many ſigns and often ſpeeches, that he had not altogether withdrawn his love and favour from the ancient houſe of the DOUGLASSES, their paſt faults being by them acknowleged and recompenſed with fidelity and obedience in times coming. The earl of Douglas, whoſe towardneſs and liberality had acquired him many friends at court, upon aſſured advertiſement of his prince's good-will towards him, cometh to Stirling, and is no ſooner preſented upon his knees before the king in the church, when with all demonſtrations of benevolence he is received into grace, pardoned, and not many days after admitted to be of the privy council. The king imparting to him his greateſt affairs, ſheweth he will follow them by his advice and counſel, honoureth him with the plauſible name of couſin, and enter-

entertaineth ſuch familiarity with him, that all others give him the place.

The promotion and credit which the earl of Douglas in a ſhort time acquired about the king, his faction daily increaſing, moved the two rulers, by their moderation ſeeking to avoid diſgrace, to leave the court. After which they were both removed from their offices, and their places and authority in council, with their whole friends and followers. They are upbraided with diſorders, both in their private actions, and the manner of their government, and at laſt are ſummoned to anſwer before the king to ſuch things as they ſhould be legally accuſed of. The murmurs every where whiſpered amongſt the people, warned and certified them, if they ſhould appear and preſent themſelves, of ſome ſad and tragic act. Whereupon, with proteſtations of their innocency declining the time, appealing to the king in his majority, and when he ſhould be of full years from theſe judges, their mortal enemies, then abuſing abſolute power, they ſuſpend their appearing, declaring withal their readineſs in every thing to obey the king.

This availeth them nothing; for, at a parliament holden in Stirling, articles being forged and urged againſt them, eſpecially of peculate, as ſale of crown-lands, waſte of the king's treaſure, the laying of their hands upon the king's jewels, tranſporting lands to themſelves and their friends, diſtributing offices and places of the crown and ſtate, which ſhould have been by authority of the council, as hunters divide a prey between themſelves; diſpenſing with riots, and taking off the force and vigour from the laws of the kingdom: Thus, as betraying the adminiſtration of the realm into the hands of worthleſs and corrupted men, they are denounced rebels, their perſons and eſtates proſcribed. Charge is given to Sir JOHN FORRESTER of Corſtorphin, and others the DOUGLASSES their adherents, to bring all their moveables to the uſe of the exchequer, demoliſh their houſes, invade their friends with fire and ſword, and all that ſided with them. Thus the uncertain viciſſitude of human accidents overturns often them who ſeem to be raiſed to the higheſt degree of honour.

honour. The caſtle of Barentoren is beſieged, taken, thrown down, with other houſes upon the governor's and chancellor's lands, and their farms and ſmall villages are plundered and ranſacked. In revenge of which the rulers waſte the earl of Douglas's territories; the villages of Straw-Brock, Abercorn, and Blackneſs are burnt, with Corſtorphin. The ravage begun, continueth with daily loſs to both parties, and the overthrow of the commonwealth.

The earl wondereth, now having the king's authority, to find his enemies ſo ſtrong, and hold ſo long out againſt him; he ſuſpecteth they have ſecret ſupport by ſome not well affected towards him. The moſt powerful and eminent of which he gueſſeth to be JAMES KENNEDY biſhop of St. Andrews, and couſin-german to the king. He knew him jealous of his ſudden favours at court, and that he had whiſpered amongſt his friends, that he feared the ambition of the earl's unlimited heart was now exalted to ſuch exorbitancy of height, that becoming top-heavy it would fall by its own weight, and turn up the root.

The earl will have this prelate leſs powerful to aſſiſt the rulers, or do harm unto him. To this effect he inſtigateth the earl of Crawfurd his ally, and ALEXANDER OGILBY of Innerquharity, to invade the biſhop's lands, and rifle his vaſſals in Fife, without order or declaration of wrongs done by him. The biſhop, after the burning and ſpoiling of ſundry of his farms, being weak by power to reſiſt their violence and repair his loſſes, took him to his ſpiritual arms, and excommunicated the earl of Crawfurd. Though he made ſmall account of this verbal thunder, yet did not this injuſtice long eſcape the revenging hand of God; who raiſeth up ordinarily one oppreſſor to execute his juſtice againſt another.

ALEXANDER LINDSAY, ſon to the earl of Crawfurd, pretended a title to the bailery of Aberbrothock, out of which he was kept by ALEXANDER OGILBY, whoſe title was equal to his, if not better. This enmity kindled to ſuch a flame, that upon either ſide they aſſemble their friends in arms: the OGILBY calleth the lord HUNTLEY; the LINDSAY, the HAMILTONS

TONS to aſſiſt their rights: frequent meetings have been to calm matters, and reconcile them; and nothing agreed upon nor concluded, they reſolve at laſt to decide the cauſe by their ſwords. The earl of Crawfurd then remaining at Dundee, advertiſed of the preſent danger of his friends, poſteth in all haſte to Aberbrothock, and cometh at the very ſhock of the ſkirmiſh, and when they were to enter the fight. Here intending by his wiſdom to take up the quarrel, and preſuming upon the reſpect due to his place and perſon, he raſhly ruſheth forwards before his companies to demand a parley of ALEXANDER OGILBY with his ſon: but ere he could be known, or was heard, he is encountered by a common ſoldier, who thruſt him in the mouth with a ſpear, and proſtrated him dead upon the ground. This ſudden accident joined the parties, who fought with great courage and reſolution. The victory after much blood inclined to the maſter of Crawfurd. ALEXANDER OGILBY ſore wounded, was taken and brought to the caſtle of Finhaven where he died; the lord Huntley eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. JOHN FORBES of Pitſligo, ALEXANDER BARCLAY of Gartley, ROBERT MAXWELL of Tealling, WILLIAM GORDON of Borrowfield, Sir JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdagy, with others, fell on the OGILBIES ſide. They fought on the 24th of January 1445.

Now by attending opportunities to increaſe public diſorders, turn the times dangerous and troubleſome, and confound the ſtate, the earl of Douglas kept himſelf in the abſolute government; by umbragious ways he nouriſhed diſcontentments in all parts of the country, amongſt the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm. ALEXANDER earl of Crawfurd put to death JOHN LINTON at Dundee; ROBERT BOYD of Duchal, and ALEXANDER LYLE ſlew JAMES STUART of Auchinmintee; PATRICK HEPBURN of Hailes ſurprized the caſtle of Dunbar; ARCHIBALD DUNBAR, as if he would but change places with him, taketh the caſtle of Hailes, where he was beſieged by the earl of Douglas, and with conditions of ſafety rendered it. Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON all this time kept the caſtle of Edinburgh, and when neither by intreaties

nor

nor power he could be induced to render it to the king, his caſtle of Creighton is plundered, a garriſon placed in it, and the caſtle of Edinburgh by the earl of Douglas is beſieged and blocked up. Nine months the aſſailers lie about it: but it proveth impregnable, and without loſs of many ſubjects cannot be taken: about the end of which time, mens courage waxing colder, conditions are offered and received; which were, that the chancellor ſhould be reſtored to grace, place, and whatſoever had been withheld from him by his enemies at court, an abolition and abrogation of all former diſcontentments ſhould be granted; the beſieged ſhould paſs out, bag and baggage free. At a parliament holden at Perth, the chancellor was purged by an aſſize of his peers, of what was laid againſt him, his lands and goods, ſeized upon by the king or DOUGLASES are decreed to be reſtored, as well to his followers as himſelf; he is eſtabliſhed in his dignities and places of honour, notwithſtanding all edicts, proclamations, and confiſcations before, which were declared null; all matters paſt put in oblivion, as not done. This, conſidering the credit of the earl of Douglas, was thought very ſtrange; but JAMES KENNEDY biſhop of St. Andrews, whoſe reſpect and authority was great with the church-men, perfected this maſter-piece of ſtate; and the earl of Douglas knew, though the chancellor was unbound, he had not yet eſcaped.

During theſe garboils in Scotland, MARGARET ſiſter to king JAMES, and wife to the dauphin of France, LEWIS, died at Chalons in Champaign; a virtuous and worthy lady, beloved of all France, but moſt of CHARLES VII. her father-in-law, who for her reſpect matched her three ſiſters, who remained at his court, honourably; ELENORA with SIGISMOND arch-duke of Auſtria; ELIZABETH with the duke of Bretaign, and MARY with the earl of Campvere. She was buried in the great church of Chalons; but after when the dauphin came to be king, he cauſed tranſport and bury her in the Abby-church of Laon in Poictou. Many elegies were publiſhed upon her death, which are yet extant. Sir JAMES STUART the black knight, husband to the queen, at this time died alſo: he had turned

ed a voluntary exile, to ſhun the dangers and envy of the factions of the country, which he had incurred by his free ſpeeches againſt the miſgovernment and miſeries of the time; and, as he was bound towards Flanders, by the FLEMINGS was taken upon the ſeas. The queen out-lived not long her daughter and husband; ſhe was buried the fifteenth of July in the Charter-houſe of Perth, near her firſt husband king JAMES I. in the year 1446. She brought forth to the black knight of Lorn three ſons, JOHN earl of Athole, JAMES earl of Buchan, ANDREW biſhop of Murray.

The chancellor having recovered his honours and ſtate, to the diſadvantage of the earl of Douglas, though of good years, and tired with the troubles of a public life, yet findeth not any deſired reſt. A marriage being deſigned for the king with MARY, daughter of the duke of Guelders, by the inſtructions of CHARLES VII. the French king; but ſecretly by the procurement of the earl of Douglas, the chancellor, as a man grave, great in place, and experimented, with the biſhop of Dunkeld, and NICOLAS OTTERBURN, is ſent over the ſeas in embaſſy. This troubleſome and unprofitable honour abroad is laid upon him, that he might be ſeparate from the king, and ſuſpended from oppoſing the private deſigns of the earl at home. This obſtacle of his ambition removed, which had neither moderation nor limits, the earl may exclude ſuch officers in ſtate or court who were not agreeable to him, and ſubſtitute others of his creation after his pleaſure; he hath now room and opportunity for his greateſt deſigns. His kindred are without pauſing preferred to offices of ſtate, his brethren to new honours; ARCHIBALD is made earl of Murray, by the marriage of a lady of the houſe of Dunbar, who was heir of the lands, and the king's ward; GEORGE is created earl of Ormond; JOHN made lord of Balveny, and hath his donation ratified in an aſſembly of the three eſtates, who were convened at Edinburgh for matters concerning the marriage of the king, but in effect that the earl might purſue his old enemies. The commiſſioners are choſen after his pleaſure, are prepared, inſtructed, prelimited by him; and to combine power with craft, he entereth in an offenſive

ſive and defenſive league with many noblemen, barons, and gentlemen of the kingdom. All the wheels and vices of his clock being right ſet, ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, late governor, ALEXANDER, his eldeſt ſon, ROBERT LIVINGSTON treaſurer, DAVID LIVINGSTON, JAMES DUNDAS, ROBERT BRUCE of Clackmanan, knights, for peculate and converting the prince's treaſure to their private uſe, are forfeited, taken and committed to ſundry priſons in December, 1447. at which time they were brought to Edinburgh. ALEXANDER the governor, JAMES DUNDAS and ROBERT BRUCE, after fines laid upon them, were remitted back to Dumbarton, there to be kept priſoners, during the king's pleaſure. ALEXANDER the governor's ſon, a young man of great expectation, with ROBERT LIVINGSTON treaſurer, and DAVID LIVINGSTON, not ſo much for any crime proved againſt them, as by the divine juſtice in puniſhing the ſeverity of the governor, for the execution of the earl of Douglas in the caſtle of Edinburgh, had their heads cut off; the people much deploring their misfortune. By this blow the earl of Douglas thought he was more terribly avenged, than if he had proved his power againſt the old man; having thus, as it were, killed him twice. Though by this ſtrict juſtice he pretended the public weal, his end was to govern all by his abſolute authority, and make the world ſee what credit he had to help or harm when he pleaſed, admire his pompous attendance, his haughty carrying of all buſineſs, and his power in ſtate.

The chancellor having perfected his embaſſy, MARY daughter to ARNOLD duke of Guelders, born of the duke of Burgundy's ſiſter, a lady yonng, beautiful, and of a maſculine conſtitution, arriveth in Scotland; and with great ſolemnity, accompanied with many ſtrangers, and the nobility of the kingdom, is married to the king in the abbey church of Holy-rood-houſe. As theſe nuptial rites were finiſhed, the peace between Scotland and England expired, and the borders of both kingdoms break, and mutually invade others. Amidſt much robbery, ſpoil, and havoc upon either ſide, the earl of Salisbury, lieutenant and warden, upon the weſt, depopulateth

pulateth the bordering villages, and burneth the town of Dumfries; the earl of Northumberland ſpoiling the eaſt, burneth the town of Dunbar: JOHN DOUGLAS lord of Balveny, invadeth the Engliſh bounds, and burneth the town of Anwick. The ravaging and depradations in a ſhort time turning equal, the two kingdoms agree upon a ſuſpenſion of arms, and place and day to treat about a general peace: At the laſt by an aſſembly of the ſtates, 1449, a truce is condeſcended unto for ſeven years. At this time ALEXANDER SETON, lord Gordon, is created earl of Huntley, and GEORGE LESLEY baron, earl of Rothes.

This truce was not long kept by any of the nations, but, as it had been drawn and plaiſtered up for the faſhion, they conſpire equally to break it. New incurſions are made, ſlight ſkirmiſhes began to wound either ſide and baniſh peace, and juſt arms were conſtrained at laſt to be oppoſed to injurious oppreſſions. The Scots having made deſolate ſome parts of Cumberland, an army, under the leading of the earl of Northumberland is raiſed, commanded by MAGNUS REDBEARD, whom the Scots, by reaſon of the length of his beard named MAGNUS with the red mane: a man trained from his youth in the wars of France; who is ſaid to have required no more, for his ſervice to the crown of England, than what he might by his own valour conquer of Scotland. The Engliſh march from the weſt borders, paſs the river of Solway and Annan, and encamp near the river of Sark. The earl of Douglas declareth his brother, GEORGE earl of Ormond, lieutenant for the king againſt them; who with the power of the ſouth and weſt loſeth no time to encounter: the earl of Northumberland, the lord Percy his ſon, MAGNUS REDBEARD, Sir JOHN PENNINGTON, and Sir ROBERT HARRINGTON led the Engliſh batallions: the earl of Ormond, lord Maxwell, lairds of Johnſton, and Craigy-Wallace, the Scottiſh. Here occaſion and place ſerving, is it valiantly fought, the fortune of the day being long doubtful; till MAGNUS, whoſe experience and direction in war in thoſe days was deemed unparalleled, his courage here turning into temerity, was beaten from his horſe and ſlain. After his fall, many

many turning their backs, the earl of Northumberland himſelf with great danger eſcaped; more in the chaſe were loſt than in the battle; ſuch who eſſayed to paſs the river, by the confuſion and the weight of their arms, were plunged in the water; others, who could not find the fords, being taken, and brought to the caſtle of Lochmaban; amongſt which were Sir JOHN PENNINGTON, Sir ROBERT HARRINGTON, and the lord Percy, who by ſaving his father engaged himſelf. Few renowned amongſt the Scots were here loſt, except CRAIGY WALLACE, a principal actor, who governing himſelf by honour and courage, died of his wounds there received, not many days thereafter. The Engliſh, to repair their loſs, raiſed an army, but by the daily ſupplies raiſed for France, and their projected civil wars (the duke of York, earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury beginning to toſs the ſtate) it was kept at home for their own uſe, and a truce was agreed upon and concluded with Scotland for the ſpace of three years, anno 1450.

This victory, obtained chiefly by the valour of the DOUGLASSES, advanced highly their credit with the young king, and the court founded with nothing more than their praiſes. But great fortunes are as hard to bear as to acquire, and ordinarily proſperity carrieth us into inſolencies, without pondering the conſequence of our actions. WILLIAM COLVIL knight, upon a private quarrel, having ſlain JAMES AUCHINLECK, a follower of the earl of Douglas, the earl revenged his death, not only with the ſlaughter of WILLIAM, but with the throwing down of his houſe, and ſpoil of all his lands, which turned cold the affections of many about the court towards him, and made him terrible to all of a contrary faction to his. After this, whether tired with his working thoughts, or to ſhun more hatred and envy; or to try what time would produce, amidſt the inward grudges and rancours of court, or that he held his own country too narrow liſts for his glory, he leaveth the kingdom, ſubſtituting one of his brothers procurator for his affairs, and in his abſence to govern his eſtate; accompanied with his brother Mr. JAMES, a man learned, and brought up in Sorbon divinity, expectant

pectant of the biſhoprick of Dunkeld, JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, the lords GRAHAM, SETON, OLIPHANT, SALTON, and many gentlemen, he arriveth in Flanders, cometh to France, paſſeth the Alps, and, it being the year of jubilee, ſtayeth at Rome; where he was honourably received and welcomed. Envy never leaveth great actors; he had not been long abſent from his prince, when many are ſuborned to give up complaints againſt the oppreſſions, riots, and wrongs of his kindred, ſervants and vaſſals. The faults of his governing the king are pryed into; every overſight and eſcape aggravated to the height. The king at firſt was loath to lend an ear to miſreports and calumnies of a man lately ſo well deſerving, and dearly of him beloved: but overcome by importunity, and urged by the numbers of complainers, he gave way, that his brother and procurators ſhould make anſwer for wrongs ſuffered by the complainers. After many citations, his brother not appearing, is at laſt by force preſented to the council; when he could not anſwer to ſuch faults as were laid againſt the earl's vaſſals and followers, nor acquit them of violent oppreſſions, he was only enjoined to reſtore to the complainers their loſs, and make up all damages. Upon fair promiſes of reſtitution, the king bringeth him off the danger, and obtaineth him liberty to return home.

There, after long adviſement with his other brothers and ſome haughty vaſſals, they declare, old rapines and wrongs being joined to new and recent, with which they were charged, the reſtitution was impoſſible, and like ſpilt water which could not be recovered. Not ſatisfied with his anſwer, the council cited the earl of Douglas upon ſome days to appear before them, and all his vaſſals and followers, with his brothers, to anſwer according to law, to ſuch articles as ſhould be given in againſt them. The earl was far off, and they conſidered it conſiſted not with their well to hazard their perſons to the arbitrement of judges, many of which had been obnoxious to their affronts. Thus, for not appearing, they are denounced rebels, and warrants granted to invade and ſpoil their lands, as public enemies to authority and the preſent government. This decree is

followed by open force; and to facilitate the execution of it, and to take up the earl of Douglas's rents, WILLIAM earl of Orkney cometh to Galloway, Douglasdale and Liddesdale: but he found authority, not seconded with power, against lusty rebels, to produce weak effects: for he returned disobeyed, and near spoiled and rifled by the earl's tenants and vassals.

The king, to vindicate his authority, since he could not prevail by reason, with competent forces in person entereth the same territories, taketh all the strong fortresses and castles where he came, demolisheth the castle of Douglas, placeth a garrison in Lochmaben, giveth the custody of such places as he spared, with the whole goods and moveables appertaining to them, to the complainers, and men interested in wrongs or blood by the rebels. The noise of this unexpected back-blow, being heard at Rome, perplexed not a little the earl of Douglas: many of his train leave him; that, where lately he represented a prince, he seemed now scarce a private gentleman; he was assured he lived under a sovereign, who maugre all detractions would hear his own defences. Upon which hopes, he resolveth to return, and taketh him to his journey: and for his greater haste and safe progress, he obtaineth a pass through England, and cometh to the borders of Scotland. His brother JAMES is directed to the court, to understand the king's mind towards him; and if there were any possibility, in this ebb of favours, to have access to him.

The king ingenuously promiseth to accept him, and performed it for all that happened by the misdemeanour of his friends in his absence, requesting that he would but live peaceably according to the order of the state, without hating that which his prince loved, or disproving that which he approved and authorised; and that, as himself and his brothers were ever the most able and readiest to repel the wrongs of strangers, so they would endeavour to entertain unity and concord in the country itself, and purge their lands of thieves and robbers; if mischievous and wicked men were not punished, there would be no surety nor safety for the good and virtuous. Past wrongs are pardoned, the garrisons removed from his castles, and they are rendered

dered unto him. Then, to put him in aſſurance of increaſing favours, he is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, a place great, and requiring great action, being only to be beſtowed upon a man active, great in power and friends.

The carl of Douglas, again afloat in the ſtream of his ſovereign's favours, might have continued, if his miſeries had not been decreed from above: ſoon after he falls in a new diſgrace. Whether upon a promiſe of return, or that he was ſent for, or that he would officiouſly give thanks for received courteſies, when he was in his way homewards, he paſſeth privately to the court of England, and without his maſter's knowlege or leave, hath many days ſerious conference with the nobility of that kingdom, then many ways diſtreſſed by the rebellion of Kent, and the factions of the great men. The pretended cauſe of his journey was given out to be, the repairing of his own and his vaſſals loſſes, ſuſtained by the inroads of the Engliſh, the time of his travels abroad, and the redreſſing of other diſorders on the weſt-borders. But his enemies ſuggeſted, he intended to enter into a league with ſome of the Engliſh to the diſadvantage of his maſter, and trouble of his country, by changing the form of government, or the officers of ſtate. King JAMES took this meeting with the Engliſh in an evil part; but, after great interceſſion and many requeſts of the queen and noblemen, after he had ſubmitted himſelf to his clemency, and acknowleged his error, received him. In the mean time, he is diſcharged of all public employments, his offices of ſtate are divided between the earl of Orkney and the lord Creighton his reconciled enemies.

Removed from public employments, he giveth himſelf to ſtudy private revenge, and the whole ſecret council turn diſtaſteful unto him; eſpecially ORKNEY and CREIGHTON, men perfectly abhorring his ambition, and who greatly feared his unmeaſurable greatneſs.

Their ſuſpected affronts and alleged wrongs towards him were increaſed daily by tales of ſycophants. It was told the earl, that the lord Creighton, in a conference with the king, had ſaid, " It were expedient for the

" peace of the country, that the earl of Douglas, with " all his friends and followers, were rooted out, and " their memory aboliſhed; but if that were left undone, " neither ſhould the king rule in due majeſty, nor the " ſubjects ever give him that obedience which they " ought. That wiſe princes ſuffered houſes to grow " as men do ſpider-webs, not taking heed of them ſo " long as they were ſmall, but when they were offen- " ſively encreaſed, they ſwept them wholly away." Irritated by theſe and many ſuch like ſpeeches, after much contempt of the chancellor, one dawning as he was early coming from Edinburgh to his caſtle of Creighton, the earl who wanted not his own intelligence amongſt his followers, hatred being an evil counſellor, laid an ambuſh for him on the high-way. But the clearneſs of the morning diſcovering it, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe he eſcapeth; ſome of his company being wounded, and one of the aſſailers ſlain in the purſuit. A few days after, the chancellor, to repair his credit, accompanied with a number of his friends and followers, coming in great haſte to Edinburgh, had unawares ſurprized the earl of Douglas, then attended but with a ſmall number of his friends, if he had not ſpeedily ſhifted himſelf from the danger. This contention, now burſting forth into open hoſtility, divided into factions the whole kingdom; the earl of Douglas maintaining his, by the long continued grandeur of his houſe; the chancellor ſtanding by his prince's favour, and a long practice of the affairs and courſe of the world. The earl fearing the authority of the king might ſway the balance and make the party unequal, if he ſhould be brought to call to rememberance paſt actions and attempts of his predeceſſors, findeth nothing more expedient to curb his enemies, and ſtrengthen his proceedings, than to renew his old confederation, and combine with him many others. Hereupon the earls of Crawfurd, Roſs, Murray, Ormond, the lord Balveny, knight of Cadyow, many barons and gentlemen, with their allies, vaſſals, and ſervants, to a great number, ſubſcribed and ſwore ſolemnly, *Never to deſert one another during life; that injuries done to any one of them, ſhould be done to them all, and be a common quarrel; neither*

ther ſhould they deſiſt to their beſt abilities to revenge them: that they ſhould concur indifferently againſt whatſoever perſons within or without the realm, and ſpend their lives, lands, goods, and fortunes, in defence of their debates and differences whatſoever. This confederation and covenant again renewed, turned the earl imperious in his deportments, preſumptuous beyond all limits, and his followers and adherents inſupportable to their neighbours: the lands of ſuch who were not of their party, or refuſed to think all their thoughts, and ſecond them in their enterprizes, were plundered; and goodneſs was a cauſe to make men ſuffer moſt pillage and ranſacking of their goods, and other miſerable calamities. At this time the thieves and robbers of Liddeſdale and Annandale break into the lands of JOHN lord Herreis, a nobleman, who had continued conſtantly faithful to the king, and drive with them a great booty of cattle. Complaints being given to the earl of Douglas of the depredations of his men, and finding no redreſs, the lord Herreis eſſayeth to drive the like prey in recompence of the damage; but being unequal in power, his misfortune was to be taken by the thieves, and brought as priſoner to the earl, who laid him faſt in irons; and notwithſtanding the king's letters, full of intreaties and threatenings, without any formality of law, cauſed hang him as a felon. The like miſchief was practiſed in other places. After this contempt of ſovereignty, it was univerſally blazed that the earl of Douglas, in reſpect of this new covenant, the power of his kinſmen and allies, the entertaining of ſuch who were diſcontent and diſcountenanced at court, the love and favour of the men of arms in Scotland, ever governed by ſome of his name, his riches, the honour of his anceſtors, had reſolved to diſſemble no longer, but openly to play his game, and eſſay one day, if he could ſet the crown upon his own head, being then able to raiſe an army of forty thouſand warlike perſons, men ready to go with him, whither or againſt whom they cared not, attending only the occaſion, and his commandment.

The king, who before but diſdained the pride, after this league became jealous of the earl of Douglas (a

league giving a law to a king, breaking all bonds of ſovereignty, and inviting a people to look for a new maſter;) and though his modeſty and patience ſerved only to turn the earl more inſolent, and his boldneſs more active; yet in a foul game he bare a fair countenance; knowing the laſt thing which a ſovereign prince ſhould do, is to ſhow himſelf male-content and offended with any of his ſubjects; for inſtead of chaſtiſing him, he would give him fairer means and greater power to do him harm; he would not ſhew a token of any prejudicial thought to the earl's proceedings till he had firſt heard himſelf.

Thus very calmly he deſired him to come, and ſpeak with him at Stirling; which, he conſcious of his own miſdemeanor, except upon a public aſſurance under the great ſeal for his ſafe coming and return, refuſed to do: a ſafe conduct being obtained about the ſhrove-tide, in the year 1452. he came to the court then remaining at Stirling caſtle, accompanied with many of his confederates, and a powerful retinue. The king with a gracious countenance, and all apparent reſpect received him, endeavouring rather by kindneſs and humanity, than by rigour to reclaim him to his former obedience. The day near ſpent, the gates of the caſtle ſhut, all removed, except ſome of the council and the guards; the king taking the earl friendly apart, remembered him of favours received, wrongs forgotten, the duties, as a ſubject, he owed to his prince, his capitulation before he would come and ſpeak with him; he taxed him with the exorbitant abuſes and outrages of his followers: then he told him, "What informations he had of a covenant "of mutual defence and adherence betwixt him and "ſome of his nobles and gentlemen, which he would "ſcarce believe: he prayed him to conſider the mur-"muring, or rather begun ſedition of his people, his "long patience in tolerating his proceedings, his mis-"belief of evil reports towards him, until he had heard "what he had to ſay for himſelf and his innocency."

The earl anſwered the king's towardneſs in equal terms, truſting much to his confederation; "For his "favours, he ſhould ſtrive with all obſequiouſneſs to "deſerve them; that, as he had the honour to com-

mand

" mand others who obeyed him, he knew very well
" how to be commanded, and obey his prince, and in
" what diſobedience conſiſted: that as none of his ſub-
" jects enjoyed more lands and honours than himſelf,
" there ſhould not one be found who more willingly
" would engage all his fortunes and perſon for the ho-
" nour of his prince: that they who laid ſnares for his
" life being ſo near his majeſty, for the ſurety of his
" perſon he could not come to court, except upon a
" public aſſurance, and well accompanied: for the
" wrongs committed by his followers and vaſſals, he
" would give what ſatisfaction ſhould be required; con-
" cerning the band of mutual friendſhip betwixt him
" and ſome noblemen, they would have adhered to-
" gether without any writing; they were driven there-
" unto for their own ſafety, nor out of mind to offer,
" but repel injuries: that he was infinitely obliged to
" his goodneſs, in not condemning him before he was
" heard, and for that he had not lent a credulous ear
" to his enemies miſchievous devices.

The king replied, " Effects, and not words, make
" the affection and ſubmiſſion of a ſubject known; and
" could there be any greater ſurety for him, than to
" rely on the laws of the commonwealth and country?
" eſpecially, continued he, in a country where laws,
" and not faction rule, and where a man's own good-
" neſs is able to preſerve him: but ſuch men, as you
" are, raiſe theſe factions, to the ſubverſion of all laws
" and authority: and for ſubjects to make an offen-
" ſive and defenſive league againſt all perſons, is to diſ-
" claim all government, and do what they pleaſe with-
" out controlment; commit treaſon in the higheſt de-
" gree, and make your own ſwords and power juſtify
" your proceedings, which though ye firſt uſe againſt
" mean perſons, and conceal the progreſs of your acti-
" ons (for there are degrees in evil, and wicked men
" begin at that which ſeemeth the leaſt of evils, or not
" an evil at all at the firſt) your laſt aim is likely to be
" the robbing upon the crown. Conſider, my lord, ye
" are born under a monarchy, which admitteth no ſo-
" vereignty but itſelf, and it is natural to princes to
" hold it in higheſt eſteem, and in no caſe to ſuffer

" it to be ſhaken by their ſubjects. Take your prince " for your beſt protection, and an innocent life: re- " nounce that union and league with your peers, which " unleſs commanded, or approved, or permitted by " your prince, ſubſiſteth not in law nor in reaſon, be- " ing forbidden under great pains. And let it not be " heard any longer, that ever ſuch an unjuſt confede- " ration was, and ſo wonted clemency ſhall be preſer- " red before deſerved juſtice."

The earl replied, "The league being drawn up by " the common conſent of many lords, barons and " gentlemen, and ſubſcribed, it could not be cancelled " nor renounced, but by their common conſent; nor " was it profitable for the king, nor to him otherwiſe " to have it done, that being together, they might con- " deſcend to the renouncing and cancelling of it. But, " ſays the king, you, to ſhow good example to the " reſt, ſhall firſt begin; neither, living, ſhall any trai- " tor in my preſence diſavow and diſclaim my authori- " ty, in what is within my poſſibility of accompliſh- " ing." The earl requeſts him to remember, "He " came to court upon a public aſſurance. A public aſ- " ſurance cannot ſo warrant any man, but that he may " fall by his own private miſdemeanor, anſwered the " king." Withal, conſidering a mean courage in a king to be an imputation, and that he did neither wrong towards God nor his fame, in revenging himſelf upon the enemies of the ſtate; the place, a ſtrong caſtle; his preſent power, all within being his counſellors and ſervants; the danger if he ſhould eſcape; the eaſineſs of ſuppreſſing the rebellion, the head taken away: The earl continuing hot and ſtubborn, in debating his points of the league, wrath baniſhing other doubts and intereſts, his dagger performed what armed juſtice ſcarce dared attempt: the king's blow, the noiſe ariſing, was ſeconded by a number of his ſervants, who ruſhing in the room left him dead, upon the eve of Shrove-Tueſday, the 22d of February, 1452.

About the laſt ſcene of this tragedy, a pair of ſpurs between two platters, an emblem of ſpeedy flight, as a part of the king's banquet, is directed to Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow; this he communicateth to the lords

lords and gentlemen of the union, in which time the news of the earl's death is ſpread abroad. The leaguers finding themſelves weak to carry ſo ſtrong a place as the caſtle, in hot blood ſet on fire divers quarters of the town of Stirling, make proclamation againſt the king and his council, for violating the aſſurance granted to the earl: infamous libels are ſpread every where, and the ſafe conduct of the king and his council bound to a wooden truncheon at a horſe's tail is dragged alongſt the ſtreets: in the market place, by the mouth of a crier, to the ſound of all their hunting-horns, they declare the king, and thoſe that abode with him, faith-breakers, perjured perſons, enemies to all goodneſs and good men. JAMES the next brother of the houſe of Douglas, a church-man, being proclaimed earl, in rage and madneſs, committing all ſorts of hoſtility, they over-run the lands and poſſeſſions of thoſe whom they ſuſpected would ſide with the king, and not prove of their party: JOHN lord of Dalkeith their kinſman and of the name of DOUGLAS, they beſiege in his caſtle of Dalkeith, for that he hated their proceedings; the tenants and vaſſals of the earl of Angus are plundered for the ſame cauſe: the ſtrength of the place raiſed the ſiege of Dalkeith; and the earl of Angus, by their many wrongs and inſolencies, remained more conſtant to the king.

In this time the king writeth to all the good towns of the realm, and church-men, giving reaſons for the taking away the earl, imputing the fault to the earl himſelf, exhorting the people to make no ſtir for the juſt execution of a man born for the ruin of the kingdom, and who voluntarily had precipitated himſelf into his own miſhap; offering all his power to keep the country in quietneſs, according to that authority in which God had placed him. This blow, as particular intereſts made the hearts of men incline, and as paſſions were various, was variouſly and in ſeveral manners taken: ſome without inquiring of circumſtances, after what faſhion or occaſion ſoever done, allowing it, thought the king had more clear and evident inducements for his deed, than could fall within the labyrinths of reaſoning. The majeſty of a prince hardly falleth from a

height to a midſt, but eaſily is precipitated from any midſt to the loweſt degree and ſtation: the king, ſaid they, hath obviated this fall, hath ſet afoot again and raiſed his authority threatened with ruin; he hath vindicated his liberty almoſt thralled, hath aſſured the lives, honours, and eſtates of many loyal ſubjects, which were endangered by not adhering to the league of the earl, and keeping their oath of allegiance to the king: he, if he pleaſe, now with honour and reputation may hold his parliaments, bring to paſs his deſigns for the conſervation of his authority, and the peace of his ſubjects. Others blamed this deed every where, and in every circumſtance; laying perjury and murder againſt him, and the breaking of the public faith and aſſurance, the common bond of human ſociety, the common defence of all, and the ground of juſtice.

To which it was anſwered, that the earl was not taken away for his paſt demerits and miſdeſervings, but for what he had recently committed in the king's own preſence, having ſpoken to him with an inſupportable irreverence; they which have ſafe conduct, being obliged to ſhun all kind of offence towards him who gives it them, any enormity being ſufficient to anul the benefit of it.

More, for the breach of faith, the earl and his confederates were the more perjured, and he the murderer of himſelf; they having violated that natural oath to their king, which all ſubjects owe to their ſovereigns, by drawing up a league among his people, to the breaking of the ties of ſovereignty; giving, by this, occaſion and juſt cauſe to the king to reward them after their demerits. Moſt ſaid the killing of the earl was evil, but that it was a neceſſary evil. That as nature ſuffereth not two ſuns, ſo reaſon of ſtate ſuffereth not that in one kingdom there be two kings, but that of neceſſity the one muſt overthrow the other; and matters going thus, he who giveth the firſt blow hath the advantage. Thus did men judge diverſly after their proper intereſts, of the deeds of others.

The torrent of theſe diſorders increaſing, laws are neglected, towns, villages, houſes, the high-ways, are everywhere afflicted with rapine, fire and fury, and, ſave

ſave needy boldneſs, nothing is ſafe and ſecure in any place.

The changing multitude, like mad-men limning portraits with their own blood, delight in their proceedings, and daily increaſe in the number of the rebels. In this inſurrection the king is reduced to many extremities, and is ſaid to have thought upon an eſcape by ſea to France, if he had not been diverted by JAMES KENNEDY, biſhop of St. Andrews, who told him, "That to leave the kingdom was to give all over to "the inſolency of his rebels, and for fear of burning, to "leap into the fire itſelf: that beſides the high and "long continued title of a king, which the beſt part "of his ſubjects yet reverenced, he had ſufficient friends "and war-like men, who appearing in the field with "him, would raiſe a juſt fear in the hearts of thoſe who "ſo hainouſly dared diſobey him; that God would be "preſent to revenge wronged majeſty, and turn their "hopes in deſpair; that the common people were ever "changing, and a little time would make them flow to "theſe from whom they did ebb; and all would return "again, except ſuch as were guilty of other offences, "or ſuch whoſe poverty made them fear a beggarly "peace as their greateſt puniſhment; that his chiefeſt "and principal city ſtood good for him, which example "the other towns would undoubtedly follow; that re-"bellion was like thunder, the noiſe of which, if ob-"ſerved duly, was often more terrible than the blow, "and diſſolved ordinarily in tears of repentance and "fair weather: that here the prudence of a prince ma-"niſeſteth itſelf, when he cannot ſuppreſs and ſtop all "the evils in his ſtate, to ſuffer and tolerate the leaſt, "and with leiſure and time aboliſh and extirpate the "greater, and make virtue of rebellion."

The king, by the biſhop's counſel and aſſiſtance, gathereth an army, but will not try the hazard of a battle, before thoſe, he had advertiſed and ſent for, ſhould join with theſe already about him, and his forces from all the quarters of the kingdom be united. In the north, the earl of Huntley had raiſed a goodly company to come to his aid; but the earl of Crawfurd, a confederate of the earl of Douglas, with a power of the men of Angus,

Angus, and all who would follow him, guided by ſome French commanders, eſſayed to cut off his paſſage, and encountereth him at Brechin. The battle is fought, and the victory inclined where the king's ſtandard was diſplayed by the earl of Huntley. The equity of the cauſe laid aſide, the occaſion of this victory was aſcribed to JOHN COLOSS of Bonnymoon, who having one of the wings of the army to guide, which conſiſted of battle axes, great ſwords, and long ſpears, and the beſt invaſive weapons, in the hotteſt of the ſkirmiſh, gave ground, and left the middle ward naked upon his ſide. The reaſon of his revolt is reported, that the night before the battle, when every man was reſolving with his affairs of the world, Bonnymoon requeſted the earl of Crawſurd, of whom he held his lands ward and relief, ſince the next day he was reſolved either to be victorious or die in the field, to ſubſcribe a precept, himſelf falling, for entering his ſon to his lands. This the ſuperior refuſing, the vaſſal out of a juſt indignation, when he ſhould have charged, retired, and his company with him. Such thoughts poſſeſſed not the earl of Huntley's mind; he dealt not ſo ſparingly with his friends in hope of their good ſervice: to the FORBESES, OGILBIES, LESLIES, GRANTS, IRVINES, he freely gave many of his own lands, which raiſed their courage to the height. In requital of which, the king after beſtowed upon him the lands of Badenoch and Lochaber. In the conflict the earl of Huntley loſt two brothers; the earl of Crawſurd, Sir JOHN LYNDSAY his brother being left on the field, fled to his houſe of Finhaven, where he was heard to ſay, he would be content to remain ſeven years in hell, to have in ſo timely a ſeaſon done the king his maſter that ſervice the earl of Huntley had performed, and carry that applauſe and thanks he was to receive from him. This conflict happened upon the aſcenſion day, the 18 day of May, 1452.

The king, by the conſluence and reſort of many worthy ſubjects unto him, having time to breathe, and finding himſelf in a calm, keepeth a convention of the ſtates at Edinburgh. Here the earls of DOUGLAS, CRAWFURD, ORMOND, MURRAY, the lord BALVENY, Sir JAMES HAMILTON, and others, are cited

ed to anſwer according to law. They, inſtead of appearing, in the night, upon the doors of the principal churches, and other places eminent, fix many placarts and libels, ſigned with their hands; which bear, the earl of Douglas, nor his followers will never obey command nor charge in time coming, nor anſwer citation; for that the king is not a juſt maſter, but a blood-ſucker, a murderer, a tranſgreſſor of hoſpitality, a ſurprizer of the innocent, and ſuch who deſerved no harm at his hands. Not long after the king levied an army, which by the approaching winter did little ſervice; and the earl of Douglas, to ſave the lands of BEATRIX his brother's widow, unſeparated from their houſe, ſought by a diſpenſation from the pope to have her in marriage, alleging her untouched of his brother; which being refuſed him, he kept her in place of his wife, the effect of his Sorbon divinity, and found hereby more briars than roſes.

The earl of Crawfurd, placing two friths of ſeas betwixt him and the king, ſpoileth the lands of all thoſe who forſook him at Brechin; and ARCHIBALD earl of Murray burneth the pile of Strathbogy, pertaining to the earl of Huntley. In revenge of which, the earl of Huntley burnt and herried all the lands of the earl of Murray beyond the Spey: the king too, in this madneſs of mankind, defaceth his own country, pulling down the houſes of his rebel-ſubjects, and waſting Annandale. This ravage, and mutual overturning of all, having continued almoſt two whole years, the faction of the earl, far inferior to the king's, now weakened with ſuch laſting incurſions; ſundry of the chief men and heads, conſidering the leaſt faults were the beſt, "That it was "better to ſtrike ſail in time, than make a full ſhip-"wrack of their perſons, honours, and the weal of the "kingdom and ſtate, counſel the earl, that fervours "growing colder, ſince it could not be undone which "was done, he would not ſet greater work on foot, but "proceding with conveniency, ſubmit himſelf friendly "to the king, who had as much goodneſs as generoſity, "and ſought and required nothing of his ſubjects but "obedience: and having now proved how difficult it "was to overcome them by arms, was, perhaps, as

"much

" much tired as they, and would pardon theſe faults
" which he could not otherwiſe amend; neceſſity in af-
" fairs of princes, conſtraining them to yield to many
" things in government againſt their firſt concluſions,
" and reſolve to grant that which they could not well
" hinder: that there were many hours in the day, and
" the hearts of princes were ſubject to change in them:
" that he ſhould not forſake the public weal of the
" kingdom for his private conſiderations: that after
" this trouble of ſtate, he might be more eſteemed and
" ſought after by the king, as it is ordinarily practiſed
" among princes and great men, who affect only that
" which is neceſſary unto them."

To theſe the earl anſwered, " That they had went
" too far forwards to think upon any cowardly retreat
" and coming back again: that the only virtue under
" a tyrant, was to die conſtantly; that other virtues
" did fight, but conſtancy alone triumphed; that for
" himſelf, he would never truſt his life to the mercy
" of thoſe who, under colour of friendſhip and banquet-
" ing, had firſt made away his two kinſmen, and after
" his own brother; for if they being innocent, were
" thus handled, what might he expect who had been
" the occaſion of ſuch diſtraction in the ſtate? He that
" had once broken his faith, except by a ſurety, is un-
" able again, in law, to contract and enter in bond with
" any; who will be ſurety between a king and his ſub-
" jects? that treaties, agreements, covenants, and bar-
" gains of a prince with rebellious ſubjects, engage him
" no further, no longer than the term-time or day which
" pleaſeth him to accept, obſerve, and keep them, as
" they turn or may turn to his utility and advantage:
" that as in nature there is no regreſs found from pri-
" vation to an habit, ſo neither in ſtate, men once diſ-
" graced do return to their former honours; that prin-
" ces mortally hated all ſubjects who had either attem-
" pted to over-rule them by power, or had caſt any
" terror upon them: and howſoever by conſtraint they
" bear ſail for a time, in the end they were ſore pay-
" maſters: that there was nothing more contrary to a
" good agreement, than to appear to be too earneſt and
" buſy to ſeek to obtain it; he would ſue for none:

" that

" that all his days he had loved ſincerity, conſtancy " and fidelity, and could not unſay and recant what " he had promiſed and practiſed, nor do againſt his " heart: his friends and his own ſtanding was by their " ſwords, which ſhould either advance their enterprizes, " and turn them victors, or they would die honourably " like themſelves and men, and not ignobly be mur- " dered like beaſts."

This free and dangerous reſolution of the earl moved many who heard it, to provide for their own ſafety, and reſolve not to ſuffer longer miſery for other mens folly, finding this war was not like to have any end, and that danger and death would be the only reward of their rebellion. Amongſt others, the earl of Crawfurd, after great adverſity, when he could not move the earl of Douglas to ſubmit himſelf to the king's clemency, with many tears and proteſtations of his ſincere love and counſel to him, left him; and ſome weeks, as the king was in progreſs in Angus, in a ſad penitential manner, accompanied with his beſt friends, coming in his way, with much humility and ſorrow he acknowleged his fault, pleading rather for pity to his houſe, which had ſo long flouriſhed, than to his perſon. The king knowing his example would be no ſmall occaſion to weaken the power of the earl of Douglas, and that of all the rebels he was the greateſt object of his clemency, was content to receive him; but he would have it done by the mediation of JAMES KENNEDY, biſhop of St. Andrews, and the lord Creighton, once his greateſt enemies; which he refuſed not to embrace. Thus freely remitted, with thoſe who accompanied him, he returned to his own houſe of Finhaven, where within few months he died of a burning ague.

The three eſtates after aſſembled at Edinburgh, where JAMES earl of Douglas, the counteſs BEATRIX, whom he kept by way of a pretended marriage, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS earl of Murray, GEORGE earl of Ormond, JOHN DOUGLAS Lord of Balveny, with others their adherents, friends and followers, are attainted of high treaſon, and their lands and goods are confiſcate and decerned to be ſeized on to the king's uſe. The earldom of Murray is given to JAMES CREIGHTON,

TON, who had married the eldeſt daughter of the earl of Murray; but he perceiving he could not poſſeſs it in peace, returned it back again to the king. At this time GEORGE CREIGHTON was created earl of Caithneſs, WILLIAM HAY conſtable earl of Errol, DARNLEY, HAILES, BOYD, LYLE, and LORN, lords of parliament; the king maketh a road into Galloway, reducing every ſtrong hold and caſtle of the country to his power; Douglas-dale he abandoned to the ſpoil of the ſoldiers.

Matters at home turning deſperate, the earl of Douglas being brought to that paſs, that he knew not what to wiſh or fear, JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow is ſent to England to invite the ancient enemy of the kingdom to take a part of her ſpoil, and help to trouble the king: but the Engliſh had greater buſineſs amongſt themſelves than could permit them to eſpouſe the quarrel of the earl. After Sir JAMES HAMILTON was returned with an excuſe and regret that ſome of the Engliſh lords could not ſupply their confuſion, but only by their counſel, he adviſed the earl of Douglas to truſt to his own power and forces, which were ſufficient, meaſuring their courage, and not counting their heads, to hold good againſt the king. There was no human affair where men were not neceſſitated to run ſome danger, nor any buſineſs taken in hand with ſuch a certainty, which by unknown cauſes, and even light ones, might not run a hazard of ſome miſhap; that he ſhould ſtudy to embrace and accept of what was moſt honourable and leaſt dangerous: it was better once to try the worſt than ever to be in fear of it: it was fit for him to commit ſomething to fortune, and wiſdom could counſel nothing, but to ſhun the greateſt evil. This lingering war would not only tire, but overcome and vanquiſh them, when one fair day of battle, either by death or victory, would crown their deſires. Others adviſed him not to hazard upon a battle, except upon ſeen and approved advantage, and to time it out a while: in this lingering war a truce might be agreed upon, which ere long might turn to a peace, in which every thing paſt might be forgotten and pardoned; that wars were managed more by occaſions and times than by arms: that the king could not be now but tired, ſince he had learned, that by eſ-

ſaying

ſaying by arms to overcome them, he had gained nothing, but trained up his ſubjects, whom he called rebels, in all war-like diſcipline, and had his country ſpoiled, and the policy defaced. Should they once enter in blood, all hopes were gone of any conditions of peace.

At this time the king beſieging the caſtle of Abercorn; to relieve the beſieged, hither marcheth with all his forces the earl of Douglas. Being come within view of the king's army, he obſerveth their march ſlow, the countenances of his ſoldiers altered, much whiſpering, and their ſpirits in a manner dejected. Countrymen were to fight againſt countrymen, friends againſt friends, and all againſt their prince. Interpreting this rather to proceed from their wearineſs, than want of good-will to enter the liſts, as well to refreſh and cheriſh them to be more prompt and luſty of courage the next morning, as to take counſel what courſe to follow, and how to diſpoſe of their game, he ſtayeth that afternoon and pitcheth his tents. To men unfortunate every thing turneth an enemy. Whether Sir JAMES HAMILTON gave way to this, or not, is uncertain: but after, it is ſaid, that in a chafe he told the earl, "He had neglected the opportunity of fight, and ſhould never ſee ſo fair a day again, in which he might have hazarded one caſt of a dye for a whole kingdom. But his fortune was now declined, and, perhaps, would never ſtand upright; that by giving that night to his ſoldiers to pauſe and deliberate on the matter, they would, perchance, take the ſafeſt way, be more adviſed what to enterprize the next morning, readily not fight at all, conſiſting of a number of bold young gentlemen, volunteers, who for the moſt part out of bravery and compaſſion followed him; that the king's army, by his lingering and lying off, was encouraged, finding they were to cope with men who would adviſe ere they fought." After which ſpeeches he bade the earl farewel: and now knowing that the way lay open both for pardon and favour to him that would firſt ſeek it, he in the night breaketh out with ſome friends, and having got over the field betwixt the two camps, was brought ſafely to the king, who graciouſly received, and freely

freely pardoned him. The army, having underſtood the clandeſtine revolt and eſcape of Sir JAMES HAMILTON, disbanded, every man ſlipping away by ſecret paſſages to his own habitation, that on the morrow there was nothing to be ſeen but the ſolitary field upon which they had encamped. The king, out of joy of this bloodleſs victory, cauſed proclaim in all his chief towns, "That ſince ſovereign authority had no leſs "ſplendor by the actions of clemency, than by theſe "of juſtice, all thoſe who had followed the earl of Douglas, and been of his party, rather by misfortune and "unadviſed raſhneſs, than any evil-will againſt him, "ſhould be freely pardoned: thoſe who would abandon the earl, and come to the king's camp, whoſoever they were, no juſtice, no law, ſhould trouble "them, but they ſhould be received to mercy, and have "all pardon." After this proclamation, many ſubmitted themſelves to the king and were pardoned; though Sir JAMES HAMILTON was remitted, yet that under colour of reconciliation worſe miſchief might not be plotted, the king ſent him, with the earl of Orkney, to the caſtle of Roſling during his pleaſure, and the taking in of the caſtle of Abercorn; remembering alſo it was ſome prejudice to a prince to be obliged to any rebel.

The earl of Douglas gathering together the ſplit pieces of his ſhipwrack, with his brothers, and ſo many of his confederates as would not forſake him, flieth to England. Here with much travel, by many promiſes of rewards, great hopes of ſpoil, gathering unto him a power of out-laws, felons, bankrupts, and ſuch as lived by rapine, as well of his own nation, as of the Engliſh, he maketh an inroad upon the weſt borders of Scotland; ſome villages being burnt, many preys, and much ſpoil driven into England: at laſt he meeteth with the valiant men who were appointed to defend the marches, the MAXWELS and SCOTS. Here in a furious ſkirmiſh his companies are diſcomfited, ARCHIBALD earl of Murray his brother is ſlain, and his head ſent to the king; the earl of Ormond is taken priſoner; himſelf with the lord Balveny with great difficulty eſcapeth into a foreſt. When he ſought to return again into England, he findeth all paſſages ſtopped up, the ways

ways laid for him, and beginning to feel much want, he is conſtrained in a diſguiſed habit to lurk meanly in the inmoſt parts of Scotland, till he wandered toward the far Highlands; where finding DONALD earl of Roſs, lord of the iſles, one of his league, a man cruel, arrogant, and unpoliſhed; after many diſcourſes and long conference with him, being no leſs eloquent than active, he poſſeſſeth him with great hopes, after a diviſion of the kingdom between them two, of an abſolute power and government of all the Highlands, beſides the wealth and treaſure which he would purchaſe by the ſpoil: he requireth only he would break in upon the more civil countries, bring all the fire-brands he could, to kindle and trouble them, and cut work for the king, whilſt he with new ſupplies, and a great army to be raiſed in England, ſhould invade the marches and bordering countries. The earl of Roſs, who thought nothing impoſſible to him, being to himſelf in theſe barbarous parts by phantaſy a king, and was uſed to vaunt of a long pedigree from FERGUS, reliſheth the profit and poſſibility of this enterprize, ſweareth to leave nothing undone for the accompliſhing of it; and parting with him upon mutual aſſurance, intreateth only celerity and ſwift performance of what they had concluded.

Scarce was the earl of Douglas in England, when the earl of Roſs, the two pillars of his deſigns being injuſtice and violence, ſupported by fair hopes from the ſouth, with his wild mountaineers and iſlanders, like an inundation, over-runneth the neighbour bounds. Argyle ſuffereth the firſt effects of their fury; the iſle of Arran is taken, and the caſtle made a bone-fire (as if they were the ſacrifice for the ſins of the reſt;) the biſhop of the iſles ſaveth himſelf by flight, and taketh ſanctuary; Lochaber and Murray-land are ſpoiled, the town of Inverneſs is ſet on fire, the caſtle ſurprized, murders, raviſhings, robberies, with what inſolency the barbarous canibals could commit, are every where, and the ſad image of death ravageth amongſt the common people. The earl of Douglas, now at his laſt ſhifts and efforts, leaveth no means nor helps unſought out: ſuch who lived upon prey and ſpoil reſort unto him; he maketh hot incurſions, and after a moſt hoſtile manner,

which

which purchaſed him the hatred of all his countrymen, and turned thoſe who were indifferent in his quarrel, his profeſſed enemies. This ravage continuing, HENRY earl of Northumberland, after ſlain at Caxton-field, whom love of the valour of the houſe of Douglas, and true commiſeration, had brought to take arms with him, invadeth one quarter of the Merſe, and the earl of Douglas turneth towards another. But whilſt they are diſperſed, and more eager and intentive to carry away ſpoil, than to look to their own ſafety and military diſcipline, the earl of Angus, with Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, put them both, with number and confuſion over-born, to flight, ſlaying many, and taking more priſoners. After this overthrow, during the king's reign, the earl of Douglas deliberating not to oppoſe longer to neceſſity, but to be ſtill till better times, never attempted to invade his country.

Amidſt theſe incurſions, the earl of Ormond at Edinburgh is beheaded; the counteſs of Douglas, BEATRIX, all hopes being loſt of reſtoring her husband, deſpoiled of her lands and fair heritage, turned now a monſter of fortune, the blame of her unlawful wedlock laid upon the earl, conſented to by her out of a certain fear of her life, ſubmitteth herſelf to the king's clemency. The king who denied not mercy to any who ſought it of him, that the leſs guilty amongſt the ſeditious might withdraw themſelves, and the obſtinate remain the leſs powerful and weak, receiveth her; and giveth her in marriage to his brother JOHN, earl of Athole, ſon to the black knight of Lorn, deſigning for her dowry the lordſhip of Balveny.

By her example, the counteſs of Roſs, abhorring the fierceneſs and cruelties, as ſhe gave out, of her barbarous husband, but rather out of policy to be agent for him, flieth to the king, and hath revenues allowed her for the maintainance of her eſtate. Not long after, the earl of Roſs himſelf, the miſadventure of his confederates having taught him now ſome wiſdom, having ſeen the king's clemency towards others equal to him in treaſon and rebellion, by many humble ſupplications craved pardon, and begged peace. The king by his great prudence, and the courſe of the affairs of his kingdom, knew

knew that it was neceſſary ſometimes to condeſcend to the imperfections and faults of ſome ſubjects, and having compaſſion, to apply and accommodate himſelf to that, which though according to the ſtrictneſs of equity was not due, yet for the preſent occaſion and reaſon of ſtate, was convenient, anſwered, "He would neither "altogether pardon him, nor flatly reject him, there "being many ſigns of his wickedneſs, and few of his "changed mind; when honeſtly, without fraud or guile, "he ſhould crave a pardon, and give ſatisfaction to thoſe "whom by blood and pillage he had wronged, and by "ſome noble action deface the remembrance of his for-"mer crimes, then ſhould it be good time to receive "him. Notwithſtanding this ſhould not diſcourage "him, but he ſhould know he had a deſire to make him "reliſh the effects of his bounty, ſo he himſelf would "find the means and ſubject. In the interim, he wiſh-"ed him to keep the common peace of the country, "and not oppreſs any of his neighbours."

About this time the univerſity of Glaſgow was founded by WILLIAM TURNBULL biſhop of that ſee. WILLIAM HAY earl of Errol, GEORGE CREIGHTON earl of Caithneſs, WILLIAM lord CREIGHTON, died 1455, and the biſhop of St. Andrews is made chancellor.

The king partly having looſed, partly cut in pieces that gordian knot of the league of his nobility, began to reobtain again the ancient authority of the kings his predeceſſors, giving and impoſing laws to his ſubjects, according to reaſon and greateſt conveniencies. Shortly progreſſing through the quarters of the kingdom, by the ſound counſel and inſtructions of the biſhop of St. Andrews, JAMES KENNEDY, and WILLIAM SINCLAIR earl of Orkney, he uſed ſuch clemency, that in a ſhort time he reclaimed all his turbulent ſubjects. In the year 1455, he held a parliament, where he ratified what was reſolved upon to be done for the peace and weal of his people, eſtabliſhing many profitable laws for poſterity. After this time ambaſſadors came from England and France unto him.

HENRY VI. king of England, a ſoft facile prince, and more fit to obey than command, having reſtored in blood and allowed the deſcent of RICHARD PLANTAGE-

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NET duke of York; the duke under pretence and countenance of reforming the ſtate and removing of bad counſellors from the court, the umbrage of all rebellions, by one JACK CADE an Iriſh, a bold man, and who had a ſpirit which did not correſpond with his low condition, who feigned himſelf to be a couſin of his, of the houſe of Mortimer, and other his inſtruments, raiſed a rebellion; which began amongſt the Kentiſh men, and was after continued by his confederacy with the duke of Norfolk, earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Devon, and others; and notwithſtanding he had ſworn fealty to king HENRY at Blackheath, again openly took arms againſt him at St. Albans; where, in pitched field, EDMOND duke of Somerſet, his greateſt competitor, and who had been preferred to his place in the regency of France, was killed, the king wounded, taken and committed in the tower of London. At a parliament after, the duke is made protector of the kingdom; at another parliament he maketh claim for the crown as in his own right, laying down thus his title. The ſon of ANNE MORTIMER, daughter and heir to ROGER MORTIMER, earl of March, ſon and heir of PHILIP, the daughter and ſole heir of LIONEL duke of Clarence, the third ſon of king EDWARD III. and elder brother to JOHN of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter; is to be preferred by very good right in ſucceſſion of the crown, before the children of JOHN of Gaunt, the fourth ſon of the ſaid EDWARD III. But RICHARD PLANTAGENET, duke of York, is come of PHILIP, the daughter and ſole heir of LIONEL, third ſon to king EDWARD III. then to be preferred to the children of the fourth ſon, who was JOHN of Gaunt, and ſo to HENRY IV. the uſurper his ſon, to HENRY ſtiling himſelf HENRY V. his ſon, and HENRY VI. now wrongfully calling himſelf king king of England. This parliament choſen to the duke of York's own mind, at firſt various, at laſt unanimouſly enacted, that HENRY during his life ſhould retain the name and honour of a king, but that the duke of York ſhould be continued protector of the country, and be declared heir apparent, and ſucceſſor of the crown after the death of HENRY. MARGARET the queen, daughter to RENY king of Sicily, more couragious than her husband,

husband, diſclaimeth the parliamentary authority, and this agreement of her king with the duke of York, as a matter done to the prejudice of her ſon, and againſt the laws of nations, which admit not a forced contract, and done by a priſoner.

The crown of England hanging at this point, the queen to her defence imploring the aid and aſſiſtance of her beſt and greateſt friends and allies, ſendeth ambaſſadors to king JAMES. Theſe remembering the duties one king oweth to another againſt rebels, and the uſurpers of their crowns, the correſpondence and amity of king HENRY with king JAMES during his proſperity, expoſtulating the cruelty of the rebels againſt EDMOND the late duke of Somerſet, uncle to king JAMES, ſlain by them in defence of his prince, promiſe in their king's name, queen's and their ſon's, with the approbation of the noblemen of their party, "To reſtore to "the kings of Scotland, the lands of Northumberland, "Cumberland, and biſhopric of Durham, after the "manner the kings of Scotland in former times had "held theſe territories of the kings of England; ſo he "would raiſe an army, and advance to their aid and "ſupply."

The duke of York ſent hither alſo his ambaſſadors, giving in many complaints againſt king HENRY, "He "had oppreſſed the people with taxations, and all kind "of exactions; he had preferred to places of ſtate and "government new men, by whoſe counſel, and his "queen, he governed only; he deſpiſed the old nobility, he had loſt Normandy and Gaſcony; as France "had been loſt by him, England was likely to run the "ſame danger. They could no longer ſuffer his dull "ſluggiſhneſs, and his wife's exorbitant pride; he was "courageleſs in war, and baſe in peace. For the duke "of York, if juſtice did not warrant his claim, except "his deſcent were undiſputable, and his title without "all exception, he would not deſire the poſſeſſion nor "ſucceſſion of the crown. King JAMES ſhould remember, it was king HENRY who entertained the late "diſſentions and civil diſcords of Scotland; he ſupported the baniſhed Scots in England. And after "they had much enlarged their diſcourſe with reaſons

"of

" of a juſt war againſt king HENRY, if king JAMES " will ariſe in arms againſt him, and aſſiſt them, they " promiſe to reſtore and render all the forts and places " of importance taken in the old wars from the king- " dom of Scotland, to him and his ſucceſſors." King JAMES anſwered the Engliſh ambaſſadors, " That he " was not ignorant of the ſtate of their kingdom, nei- " ther to whom their crown did appertain, but that he " would not take upon him to be umpire of their ſtrife; " for the raiſing an army, he would think upon it, " though he had ſmall aſſurance for the performance " of their promiſed conditions: he had long projected " the recovering of the loſt fortreſſes of Scotland in their " hands, and now he would try whom he might truſt." The ambaſſadors diſmiſſed, the king raiſed an army, but left to the divination of poſterity, with which of the parties he was to ſide. The Engliſh and French writ- ers affirm, he was to aid king HENRY, and revenge the death of the duke of Somerſet his mother's brother; the Scotiſh, to aſſiſt the duke of York, and that by a counterfeit legate from the pope after he had been upon his march, he was moved to return. It ſeemeth that being perſuaded by the French king (the ancient con- federate of Scotland, and who for that end had ſent his ambaſſador) to keep the Engliſh within their own coun- try, and diſable them in their conqueſt of France, he intended upon the advantage of this civil diſcord to make a road into England, as the French made an al- garad by ſea upon Kent.

The king's army being gathered, that it ſhould not loiter in idleneſs, attending greater intelligence from the event of the Engliſh factions, having paſſed the Tweed, invadeth the town of Roxburgh, which, with little travel is taken and equalled with the ground; and the caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſs, is beſieged. Whilſt the king here paſſeth the time, inviting it more by courte- ſies and blandiſhments, than ammunition and warlike engines, to be rendered to him, commiſſioners came from the duke of York, requiring him to leave his ſiege, and contain himſelf within his own kingdom, unleſs he would run the hazard to engage himſelf in a war againſt the whole body of the kingdom of England; they give him thanks

thanks for his forwardneſs to their ſupply: all things ſucceeding after their deſires now, and as they could have wiſhed, they requeſt him to return home; when their neceſſity required his aid, they would implore it, and not prove forgetful for what he ſhould do towards him. King JAMES aſked the commiſſioners, if the duke of York and his aſſociates had ſent any direction concerning the keeping of their promiſes to him, when he ſhould appear with an army; they aſſuring him they had no ſuch commiſſion; I, anſwered the king, before their embaſſy came, had reſolved to take in and throw down this caſtle built upon my bounds, and being by no benefit obliged to any of your factions, will not for words leave off what I am about by arms to perform. The commiſſioners departing, the king cauſed apply his battery againſt the caſtle, which couragiouſly defended itſelf, and holding good beyond expectation, bred an opinion that famine would be the only engine to make it render.

The king's army daily at this ſiege increaſed, and amongſt all the companies none were more forward and prompt to diſcharge their duties in this ſervice, than thoſe of the late league with the earl of Douglas. Above others the earl of Roſs, to teſtify his rememberance of the king's clemency in his behalf, with a great company of his Iriſh, came to the camp, men only fit for tumultuous fights and ſpoil. ALEXANDER earl of Huntley coming, the king, with the earl of Angus, would take a view of the trenches, and as to welcome a man, whoſe preſence ſeemed to preſage good fortune, cauſed diſcharge a pale of ordnance together: but his coming to this place was as fatal, as at Stirling proſperous; for at this ſalvo, by the ſlices of an overcharged piece or wedge, the king, his thigh-bone being broken, was ſtricken immediately dead, and the earl of Angus was ſore bruiſed. This misfortune happened the third of Auguſt, 1460, the 29th, or as others, the 30th year of the king's life, and of his reign the 24th.

Who will take a fair view of this prince, ſhall find him to have been endowed with what conditions and qualities are to be deſired or wiſhed in a monarch, both for mind and body; of an excellent feature and pleaſant

aſpect, a ſtrong vigorous complexion, given to all knightly exerciſes: he is ſaid to have had a broad red ſpot upon one of his cheeks, from which by his countrymen he was named JAMES *with the fiery face*, which would make phyſiognomiſts conceive, he was of an hot active violent diſpoſition, and one who had more need of reſtraint than encouragement in all difficulties; yet in his actions we find him temperate, ſtayed, and of a well ſettled humour, proceeding upon ſound grounds, and after mature deliberation, being much given to follow the advice and counſel of grave men about him. He was upright, ſincere, affable, courteous, loving to his domeſtics, humane towards his enemies, gracious and benign to all men, a lover of juſtice, liberal, but without oppreſſion of his loyal ſubjects; wiſe, in adverſity induſtrious and diligent, politic in affairs of ſtate; having always raiſed up one faction to relieve him from the hazard and burden of another, and expoſe the faction he moſt feared to the neareſt hazard: he was wiſely diffident, and put on a judicial diſtruſt, often to be governed as occaſions ſhould vary, and could diſſimulate according to the faſhions and changes of the time: he ſeemeth to have been indifferent in keeping his favourites, and that he could ever as well transfer his fancy, as he had ſettled his affection; for, like the ſun, he would make a round, and not always ſhine upon one horizon.

The death of the two earls of Douglas were fatal to him; and though he was innocent of the firſt, the ſecond chanced deſervedly in his hand. Couragious princes are not to be provoked by any ſubject how great ſoever: confederations and leagues are fearful attempts againſt ſovereignty, and for the moſt part, end with the ruin of their authors. The extirpation of the earls of Douglas in the perſon of JAMES, a church-man, proceeded rather from his own ſtubbornneſs, than any hatred the king had againſt him. In all nations it is obſerved, that there are ſome families fatal to the ruin of their commonwealths, and ſome perſons fatal to the ruin of the houſes and race of which they are deſcended: ſince in kingdoms ſome have no compaſſion of their prince, nor the loſs of his honour, a prince ſhould not

not much regret their loſs, nor the ruin of their perſons and eſtates. His great clemency appeared in this, that, the heads taken away of that long rebellion, he followed no particular revenge upon their followers, not only granting pardons, but forgetting the offences; knowing it was better to heal and cure the faulty and ſick members of a ſtate, than to aboliſh and cut them away; and more valour for a prince to overcome his own paſſions and juſt wrath, than to vanquiſh and ſubdue his proudeſt enemies; yet was not his clemency a ſoft weakneſs, it being no leſs cruelty to forgive all than to ſpare none, but an order and diſcretion in juſtice, tempered with ſeverity towards ſome more than towards others, according to their demerits. He was very ſenſible of the afflictions of ſuch as were diſtreſſed, as witneſs the counteſſes of Douglas and Roſs. His life having ſet in the orient of his age and hopes, he deſerveth, in the records of memory and fame, a place amongſt the beſt, but unfortunate, princes.

He had iſſue of his queen, JAMES, who ſucceeded, ALEXANDER duke of Albany, JOHN earl of Mar, MARGARET counteſs of Arran by the Boyd, and after lady HAMILTON; and CECILY. He was buried with all funeral pomp, within the monaſtry of Holy-rood-houſe at Edinburgh.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN of JAMES III.

THE queen having tidings of the diſaſter of her husband, full of grief and cares, with her ſon, came to the army at Roxburgh; and the public loſs being revealed, for till then it was but whiſpered, with more than a maſculine courage cauſed give new and deſperate aſſaults to the caſtle; many turrets being ſhaken, ſome gates broken, parcels of walls beaten down, the mines ready in diverſe quarters to ſpring, the beſieged ignorant of the aſſailers misfortune, and by the diſſenſion of their countrymen fallen from all hopes of relief, treat upon a ſurrender. Conditions being obtained peaceably to depart with their lives and goods, the fortreſs is given up: and ſhortly after, that it ſhould not be a reſidence of oppreſſion in following times, is demoliſhed and equalled wieh the ground.

Many of the three eſtates being here aſſembled, the times not ſuiting with other ſolemnities, at Kelſo the peers of the kingdom, in a military pomp, ſet the crown upon the head of the king, then ſome ſeven years old, and give him their oath of fidelity. At their coming to Edinburgh the education and governance of him, and the other children, is committed to the queen their mother; the credence of what could make for

peace at home, or war abroad, is truſted to ANDREW STUART lord EVENDALE, the lord KENNEDY, earl of Orkney, the lord BOYD chancellor, the lord GRAHAM, the biſhops of St. Andrews, Glaſgow, and Dunkeld. The civil wars increaſing in England, the governors of Scotland, under colour of preſerving the bordering countries, ſent forth ſome companies, which upon occaſions made roads into Northumberland, and threw down all the fortreſſes out of which incurſions were wont to be made upon the Scotiſh bounds, moſt eſpecially the caſtle of Wark: after which ravaging, the winter recalled them home.

The milder parts of the kingdom reduced to order, ſome turbulent chiefs of the mountaineers taking the occaſion of the non-age of the king, and of rumours of diſſenſions amongſt the governors, eſſay to trouble the peace of their far and wild countries: ALLAN MACDOUGAL of Nether-Lorn throweth his eldeſt brother in cloſs priſon, with intention to rob him of his life and eſtate; but he after is ſurprized by the earl of Argyle: DONALD of the iſles taketh the caſtle of Inverneſs, and placing there a garriſon, proclaimeth himſelf king of the iſles, compelling the neighbour towns and ſimpler ſort of people to pay him taxes. At the rumour of this inſolence, all wicked out-laws reſort unto him; by whoſe power he invadeth the caſtle of Blair in Athole, out of which the earl, the king's uncle, with his lady, once counteſs of Douglas, fly and take ſanctuary in the church of St. Bride, where the church about them being ſet on fire, they were irreligiouſly taken, and tranſported to the iſland of Ila. Whilſt the governors were raiſing an army, and advancing ſuch forces as were in readineſs againſt the actors of theſe miſchiefs, they were aſcertained, that, as theſe ſavages were lanching forth of that iſland in their wherries and ſmall veſſels, made of boards and wickers, by a violent tempeſt from heaven, the moſt part of them were daſhed againſt the rocks and drowned; and that thoſe who had eſcaped, were ſtruck with a panic fear, and deprived of their right judgment and underſtanding: an ordinary accident to men blinded with ſuperſtition, and guilty of murder and ſacrilege: amidſt which diſtra-

tions,

ons, the earl of Athole, with his lady, was ſafely returned to his own caſtle.

MARGARET queen of England, after the ſecond overthrow, and taking of her husband at Northampton, with the prince her ſon, and the new duke of Somerſet, having fled to the biſhopric of Durham (whilſt RICHARD duke of York was eſtabliſhing his title and right to the crown at London) raiſed in the north, of Scots and Engliſh, a ſtrong army, which marched towards York. The duke of York leaving the king in the cuſtody of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, though he knew himſelf inferior in power and number to his enemies, by the pride of his former victories and the overweening of his ſoldiers valour, with EDMOND earl of Rutland his younger ſon, the earl of Salisbury and others, rencountreth her at Wakefield-green, and here by his own raſhneſs, with his ſon young Rutland, he is killed.

The earl of Salisbury is taken, and with other priſoners beheaded at Promfret caſtle; their heads were fixed upon poles about the walls of the city of York; that of the duke's was mocked with a paper crown, and expoſed to the barbarous mirth of the beholders. The queen encouraged by this victory, deſiring to diſannul all acts made lately in prejudice of her husband, marcheth courageouſly towards London: In which time EDWARD earl of March, ſon to the late duke of York, overthrew the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, both of the queen's faction: at Mortimer-croſs in her way to London, the queen meeting the earl of Warwick and the duke of Norfolk at St. Albans, who carried king HENRY her husband along with them, overthrew them, and recovered the perſon of her king. It is obſerved that victory always fled from where this king was preſent. The citizens of London, at the approach of the queen's army fearing hoſtility, ſhut their gates againſt her, and armed for reſiſtance. At this time EDWARD earl of March having joined his victorious army with the remainder of the earl of Warwick's, entered in triumph the city of London, and with great applauſe and acclamations of the people, was proclaimed king. Queen MARGARET and her faction retiring to the North, wan

ſo the hearts of that people, that they gathered an army able to ſtand for her defence, conſiſting of threeſcore thouſand fighting men. EDWARD earl of March, chuſing rather to provoke than expect his enemies, advanced towards them; the place of their meeting was between Caxton and Tewton. In this fight the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, the lords BEAUMONT and DACRES, GREY and WELLS, were ſlain, and above thirty ſix thouſand Engliſh ſtruck down: the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter fly to York to carry the news to the unfortunate king, leaving the victory to EDWARD, who is again ſaluted king.

King HENRY after this overthrow, perceiving how deſperate his hopes were in his own country, with his queen, his ſon, and the remainder of his diſperſed friends, ſecured himſelf by flight into Scotland. JAMES KENNEDY biſhop of St. Andrews, to whoſe perſon the authority of the ſtate was then reduced, received him with magnificence and honour, and put him in hopes, by the aſſiſtance of Scotland, to reſtore his fortune. King HENRY, as well to reſerve ſome refuge and ſanctuary for himſelf, as to win the hearts, and inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the people of Scotland, cauſed render the town of Berwick to them, which the Engliſh had violently poſſeſſed ſince the days of EDWARD I. for which favour the Scotiſh nobility vowed at all times to come to his ſupply, and defend him to their uttermoſt: and that the friendſhip begun might continue without all vacillation, the queens of Scotland and England, both deſcended of the French race, began to treat of an alliance, promiſing EDWARD prince of Wales ſhould be married with the lady MARGARET, the king of Scotland's ſiſter, none of them then having attained the years of marriage.

The miſeries of King HENRY increaſing, ſuffered not theſe two queens to ſtay long together; MARGARET with her ſon EDWARD, to implore the aid of her friends, maketh a voyage towards France to her father RENY king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, duke of Anjou, a prince large of titles, ſhort of power. Theſe who had followed king HENRY into Scotland, whilſt he is left only intentive to devotion in the cloiſter of the Gray-

Gray-friars at Edinburgh, return back again to ſolicit their friends in England for a ſecond encounter. Upon the arrival of queen MARGARET in France, ſhe obtaineth of her couſin LOUIS XI. that thoſe, who favoured and aſſiſted the duke of York, were prohibited traffic, and commanded to remove out of the French dominions, and that five hundred ſoldiers ſhould come to her aid; a number ſo ſmall, and ſo unworthy the name of an army, that it was but a competent retinue for ſo great a princeſs. With theſe ſhe came to the coaſt of Scotland, and from thence ſailed to Tinmouth, where being repulſed by the inhabitants, and forced again to put to ſea, ſhe was by a furious tempeſt driven to Berwick.

Here leaving the prince her ſon EDWARD, with the increaſe and ſupply of ſome Scots, taking the king her husband with her, ſhe advanced into the biſhopric of Durham. In her march through Northumberland, her army increaſed to a great number; the duke of Somerſet, Sir RALPH PERCY, and divers of king HENRY's well-wiſhers having reſorted unto her. King EDWARD, finding king HENRY by the freſh air of the north to have acquired new ſpirits, prepareth to oppoſe him, and having ſent down the lord MONTAGUE, brother to the earl of Warwick, he himſelf with greater forces ſhortly followed. MONTAGUE, having through the ſhires where he went, and the biſhopric of Durham, gathered a convenient army, marched directly againſt king HENRY. In the mean time, HENRY BEAUFORT duke of Somerſet, the lords HUNGERFORD, ROSS, MOULINES, Sir RALPH PERCY, preſent themſelves to hinder his further progreſs; they are overthrown, and king HENRY with great difficulty eſcapeth to Berwick. At the news of this overthrow, king EDWARD, being in his march towards Durham, finding the preſence of his perſon, or army needleſs, turned towards York, and gave the earl of Warwick command to take in all the caſtles and fortreſſes which as yet held good for king HENRY in the north.

Amongſt the garriſons, placed in Northumberland by the queen, there was a garriſon of the French in the caſtle of Anwick, under the command of PETER BRUCE, otherwiſe named le Seigneur de la Varoune ſe-

neſchal of Normandy, which held long good againſt the Engliſh. This PETER BRUCE was in great account with CHARLES VII. father to LOUIS XI. and for this was not much liked of LOUIS, but ſent over with queen MARGARET to make wrack upon apparent dangers. Having eſcaped tempeſts at ſea, he took the caſtles of Bambrough and Dunſtanbrough, which he demoliſhed. After he eſſayed to keep the caſtle of Anwick; but the earl of Warwick, king EDWARD lying near to Durham, there beleagured him. Whether this man came from the race of the BRUCES of Scotland, or no, is uncertain; for the vulgar writers in this detract him, naming him BRYCE and a BRETON; or that the Scots would give a proof of their friendſhip to the queen of England, and of their valour to the Freneh; whilſt he is every-where beſet, and near paſt hope of relief, the earl of Angus, then warden of the marches, raiſed a power of twenty three thouſand men, and approached the borders, out of which number he made choice of five thouſand horſemen, remarkable for their valour. Theſe, about the midſt of the day, coming near the caſtle of Anwick, and by their colours and arms being known afar to captain BRUCE, he taketh a reſolution to ſally out and meet them; the ſtrongeſt of the Scottiſh horſemen receiving them, convoy them ſafely to their borders; ſome of the beſiegers would have fought in the purſuit, but the Engliſh general gave them fair paſſage.

King EDWARD having taken all the caſtles and forts which in the north held out againſt him, placing garriſons in them, returned to London: as king HENRY, void both of counſel and courage, came back to Edinburgh. Here he had not long ſtayed, when tired with the tediouſneſs of his exile, the prolonging of a wretched life being more grievous to him than death itſelf, and allured by falſe hopes of his friends, he reſolveth to hazard upon a return to his own kingdom; his crown loſt, all his favourers and well-wiſhers almoſt ſlaughtered, he cometh into England; then diſguiſed, and by night-journeys ſhifting from place to place, at laſt betrayed by ſome of his ſervants, he is found out. It is recorded that a ſon of Sir EDWARD TAL-

BOT

BOT apprehended him as he ſat at dinner at Wadding-town-hall; and like a common malefactor, with his legs under the horſe's belly, guarded him up towards London. By the way the earl of Warwick met him, who led him priſoner to the tower. MARGARET his deſolate queen with her ſon is driven once again to fly to their father RENY into France.

King EDWARD, his competitors being all dead or ſuppreſſed, finding a ceſſation of arms expedient, and a breathing time from war; to ſettle and make ſure his new government, as to other his neighbour princes for peace, ſo ſendeth ambaſſadors to Scotland, to treat for a truce for ſome years.

The earl of Argyle, biſhop of Glaſgow, abbot of Holy-rood-houſe, Sir ALEXANDER BOYD, and Sir WILLIAM CRANSTON, being choſen to this effect commiſſioners, come to York; and the Engliſh commiſſioners there attending them, a truce for fifteen years is agreed upon, and ſolemnly by both kings after confirmed.

MARY queen of Scotland, daughter to ARNOLD duke of Guelders, and mother to king JAMES, the projected marriage of her daughter with EDWARD prince of Wales, by the miſeries of king HENRY and queen MARGARET her kinſwoman proving deſperate; her ſon ALEXANDER, either as he went to the Low-countries to ſee his grandfather, or returned from him, being by the Engliſh taken upon the ſeas; limited in credence of governing her children by the inſolence of a proud nobility, and her reputation branded, after a long languiſhing with inward diſcontentments, turned, as it were, recluſe, and began to bid farewel to this world. Her melancholy growing incurable, amidſt her laſt trances, when her ſon had come to viſit her, ſhe is ſaid to have ſpoken to him almoſt to this ſenſe.

" That providence which brought me upon the earth,
" and ſet a crown on my head, doth now recal and re-
" move me to a better kingdom; and my happineſs is
" not in this little, that I leave this life without
" change of that eſtate in which I peaceably lived.
" Death now ſheweth me as in a mirrour the frailty of
" all

" all worldly pomp and glory, which before by the
" marble colours of falſe greatneſs was overſhadowed
" and covered from me. My griefs have been many,
" few my contentments: the moſt eminent of which was
" the hopes I conceived of you and my other children:
" and now my greateſt regret is, that I leave you be-
" fore I could ſee my wiſhes accompliſhed towards you.
" My only care was to have you brought up in all vir-
" tue and goodneſs: but heaven ſhall beſtow that
" charge to more prudent governors: however take
" theſe motherly directions from me, who can leave
" you no better legacy. Be earneſt to obſerve theſe
" commandments which are preſcribed unto you by re-
" ligion, for this ſupporteth the ſcepters of princes:
" and a religious king cannot but have obedient ſub-
" jects. What an unreaſonable thing is it, that a king
" will have a people to acknowlege him for their ſovereign
" prince upon earth, and will not acknowlege God for his
" ſupreme Lord in heaven? a king who rebelleth againſt
" God, all ſubordinate creatures will rebel againſt him.
" Love my children, and laying aſide the port and
" ſtatelineſs of a king, receive them with the affection
" of a brother. Endeavour to make your ſubjects o-
" bey you more out of love than fear: or make your-
" ſelf beloved and feared both together, ſeeing love a-
" lone of itſelf is often the cauſe of contempt, and fear
" alone begets hatred. Remember ye govern not the
" ſoft effeminate people of the South, but a fierce war-
" like nation of the North, which oftner uſe to be in-
" treated than commanded by their princes. Be ſpar-
" ing to lay ſubſidies on them, which maketh many
" malecontents; and live upon your own, ſuffering
" others to enjoy what is theirs. Beware of flatterers,
" and exalting undeſerving perſons above your anci-
" ent nobility. Suffer not your prerogative to come in
" queſtion; but foreſeeing the danger, rather give way
" to all that with reaſon is demanded of you. Mode-
" rate your paſſions; he ſhall never govern a kingdom,
" who cannot govern himſelf, and bring his affections
" within the circle of reaſon. It fears me, envy and
" malice arm themſelves againſt you, which to over-
" come, endeavour to be martial in yourſelf; for a

" prince

" prince that is not martial in himſelf, ſhall never be " freed of rebellion amongſt his ſubjects: a ſtrong arm " ſhould hold the ballance of juſtice. When diſſenſion " ariſeth, be not a loiterer and ſluggard, but with all " celerity ſuppreſs it in the infancy. Rebellion is like " fire in a city, which ſhould be quenched, though " with the pulling down of the neighbouring houſes. " Others will inſtruct you in the art of governing, with " greater curioſity and wiſdom, but not with the like " love and affection. I wiſh this counſel be ingraven " in your heart and conſcience after my death, for a " perpetual teſtimony of my ſincerity in your educati- " on. And if, by the unjuſt counſels of others, ye " be brought to practiſe ought contrary to theſe in- " ſtructions, remember ye cannot ſhun inevitable dan- " gers both to your ſtate and perſon. But now I am " warned from above to deliver this grief-full body to " the reſt of a deſired grave."

After ſhe had thus counſelled and bleſſed her ſon, not leaving many days, ſhe was buried with all ſolemnities and funeral rites at Edinburgh in the college of the Trinity, which ſhe herſelf had founded in the year 1466.

The king as he encreaſed in years, increaſing in ſtrength and ability for exerciſes either of recreation or valour, by the regents is given to a brother of the lord BOYD to be bred in knightly proweſs, a man ſingular for his education abroad and demeanor at home. The KENNEDIES were now aged, and become tired to give ſuch aſſiduous attendance at court as they were wont, and the times required. The lord BOYD by the weakneſs of his co-partners governed the ſtate alone, as Sir ALEXANDER his brother did the young king; to whoſe natural inclination he did ſo comply and conform himſelf, that he had the whole truſt of his affairs, and the king had no thoughts but his. So ſoon as the king began to know himſelf, he turned impatient of being ſubject to the laws of minority, that he himſelf ſhould be reſtrained by that authority which did derive itſelf from him; to lothe the ſuperintendency and government of others, and to affect an unſeaſonable privilege to be at his own diſpoſal and the governing

ing himſelf. Many things are done without the advice of the governors, and occaſion is ſought to be disburdened of their authority. The lord BOYD and his brother in a little time increaſing in greatneſs, and having an intention to transfer the power of the ſtate and glory of the court to their family, fail not to find opportunity to free the king from the ſeverity and rigour of the governor's ſchooling, and to frame him an eſcape. Whilſt the king remained at Linlithgow, the lord HAILES, lord SOMERVILLE, Sir ANDREW CAR of Cesford, and Sir ALEXANDER BOYD, agree upon a match of hunting, and will have the king umpire of the game. Early the morning following, the gentlemen who were upon the plot failed not in their attendance. The king being a mile off the town, and holding the way towards Edinburgh, the lord KENNEDY, whoſe quarter then was to attend, and who had leiſurely followed, ſuſpecting this hunting to be a game of ſtate, the king continuing his progreſs, laying his hands upon the reins of his bridle, requeſted him to turn again to Linlithgow; for that he perceived the time was not convenient for him to go further, neither was he at a convenient match in abſence of his beſt deſerving followers. Sir ALEXANDER BOYD impatient that the king ſhould have been thus ſtayed, after injurious words, ſtruck the reverend governor with a hunting-ſtaff upon the head, and took the king along with him to Edinburgh. At a frequent meeting of the ſtates, the KENNEDIES urged to have the king continue under minority, the BOYDS to take the government in his own perſon. After long conteſtations, wiſdom being overcome by boldneſs, the authority of the better party was forced to give place, and yield to the will of the greater. Thus the faction of the BOYDS prevailed.

After this the KENNEDIES full of indignation, and breathing revenge, leave the court; cares, grief and age, about this time, brought JAMES KENNEDY, biſhop of St. Andrews to his tomb, which in great magnificence he had raiſed in a church built by himſelf in the city of St. Andrews; where alſo he founded a college of philoſophy, and endued it with many privileges,

vileges, and ſufficient rents to entertain profeſſors. By the death of this prelate, venerable for his wiſdom, ſingular for his juſtice, and the tranquillity following his government, and magnificent in all his actions, the glory of the court and country ſuffered a great eclipſe.

For he being taken away, the BOYDS, laying foundation for their power and greatneſs, began to turn all to their own advantage. The firſt mark of their envy was PATRICK GRAHAM, brother of biſhop JAMES KENNEDY by the mother, who was ſiſter to king JAMES I. After this man had been choſen biſhop of St. Andrews, as the cuſtom then was, by the chapter appointed for that election, he was barred from his place, and violently repulſed by the faction at court. To repair which indignity, he made a journey to Rome; where being a man noble by birth above others for his learning and many virtues, in a little time, by pope SIXTUS the IV. he was re-eſtabliſhed and confirmed in his place.

During his abode at Rome, the old queſtion, concerning the liberty of the church of Scotland, began to be exagitated.

The archbiſhop of York conteſted, that he was metropolitan of Scotland, and that the twelve biſhops of that kingdom were ſubject to his juriſdiction. PATRICK GRAHAM remonſtrated, how the archbiſhop of York, conſidering the uſual wars between the two kingdoms, was often inacceſſible to the church-men of Scotland, eſpecially in cauſes of appellation. The pope, after the hearing of both parties, erected the ſee of St. Andrews to the dignity of an archbiſhop's ſee; and PATRICK GRAHAM, not only was made primate and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordained to have the other biſhops under him, but for the ſpace of three years deſigned legate for the pope, with full power to correct and reſtore the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and examine the manners and converſation of the clergy. Notwithſtanding theſe favours of the biſhop of Rome, and the worth and excellencies of the man himſelf, he dared not return home to his own country before the declining of the fortunes of the BOYDS.

This family ſeemed now in the zenith and vertical point of

of its greatneſs. No imputation could be laid to the BOYDS in the time of their government, except that they brought the young king by their private working, without the conſent and approbation of the other regents to Edinburgh, for the aſſuming the government in his minority. In approbation of their innocency, and to warrant them from this danger, the king in a parliament declareth publicly, "That the BOYDS "were not the authors, nor projectors of that buſineſs, "but only the aſſiſters of him and his followers, being "not formal but inſtrumentary cauſes of his coming to "the helm of the ſtate himſelf: that they were ſo far "from being obnoxious to any blame or reproach for "this deed, that they deſerved immortal thanks, and "an honourable guerdon in all time to come, hav-"ing obeyed him in that which was moſt juſt, honeſt "and expedient for the weal of the kingdom." Upon this declaration of the king, the lord BOYD required the preſent action might be regiſtred amongſt the acts of parliament; and he obtained what was deſired, but not with that ſucceſs was hoped for.

In this parliament, the other regents are rid of their charge, the lord BOYD being made only governor of the kingdom, and the object of all mens reſpects; having the whole power and authority to miniſter juſtice of all kinds to the ſubjects during the king's non-age, and till he had fully compleated one and twenty years: the defence of the king's perſon, and of his brothers, and the keeping of the two ladies his ſiſters, are truſted unto him: he hath all the towns, caſtles, fortreſſes, ſea-ports, and places of importance at his command. Theſe proceedings of the parliament ſeemed to ſome very ſtrange, in advancing men already great enough, and beſtowing upon them all offices of ſtate, and adding power to ſuch who wanted only will to do miſchief, except that they knew well how to abaſe and pull them down again, making their fall the more ſudden. ROBERT lord BOYD, having the reins of government in his hands, and the cuſtody of the king's ſiſters, dazled with the golden ſun of honour, to lay more ſure the foundation of his greatneſs, joineth in marriage THOMAS his eldeſt ſon, a youth of extraordinary endowments,

ments, both of mind and body, with MARGARET the king's eldeſt ſiſter, not long before deſigned by her mother to have been given in marriage to EDWARD prince of Wales; and he is created earl of Arran. The father knowing how eaſy the converſation of young perſons breedeth a liking, had brought them up together, which turning in a love and delight of others company, concluded at laſt in marriage. This match, though royal, great and rich, inſtead of ſupporting the fortunes of the BOYDS, much weakened them, turning them the objects of envy. The nobles repined at it, and the common people (lighter than the wind, and more variable than the rain-bow) made it the ſubject of their fooliſh diſcourſes. Now, ſaid they, the BOYDS aſpire to the crown; for the king with his brothers being removed, it appertaineth to them, a kingdom being the dowry often of a wife of the blood royal. The KENNEDIES, and ſuch who diſliked the preſent government, take the occaſion of the diſcontentment of the nobility, and the rumours of the people, to ſhake the king's mind towards the governor, and change the brawl of ſtate. To this end, they give way to great and univerſal oppreſſions, moſt of which were hatched and occaſioned by themſelves. By theſe in a ſhort time, the commons turn licentious and diſſolute, contemning all government, every man doing what ſeemed beſt in his own eyes, and the gentry divide in factions. Such who wont to live upon rapine and theft, return to their wonted trades: honeſt men are ſpoiled of their goods; the ſeditious and wicked are maintained and defended againſt all laws and juſtice by their parties. The ſtate thus troubled, and all order confounded by ſly and crafty men, who at firſt pretended great friendſhip and intereſt towards the BOYDS, the king's affection towards them is aſſailed, and his reſolutions tried. Many times having been plauſibly liſtened unto, at laſt pulling off their maſks, they lay imputations againſt them. They remonſtrate to him, "What "great diſparagement was between the kings of Scot- "land's eldeſt ſiſter and the ſon of the lord BOYD; that "by this match he was robbed of one of the faireſt jew- "els of his crown; the BOYDS ſhould not have appro- "priated that to themſelves, of which they had only

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" the keeping; ſhe ſhould have been reſerved for ſome " neighbour prince, by which alliance the ſtate of the " kingdom, and the perſon of the king might have been " in greater ſafety: for if the king ſhould chance to be " infeſted by ſome inſolent nobility, the name and power " of a neighbour prince were ſufficient to keep him " ſafe on his throne, which by this match was endanger- " ed. They ſuggeſted that the BOYDS built their eſtima- " tion in the air of popular applauſe, and endeavoured " to endear themſelves in the opinion of the multitude. " A prince is not a lord of that people that loveth ano- " ther better than him. Should the BOYDS be accuſ- " ed of peculate and robbing the king and the common " treaſure, the king might make a prey of their unlaw- " ful conqueſt, and by their attainders reward the ſer- " vices of many of his neceſſitous friends, it being ac- " quired for the moſt part by ſpoils, and the taxing of " the ſubjects unlawfully. The height to which their " riches was increaſed ſhould be feared." The faults of all the diſorders of the common-wealth are laid up- on the BOYDS, as the authors of every breaking- out and ſedition, that they might the more ſecurely poſſeſs the places near the king. At this time com- plaints from all parts of the kingdom, and by all ſorts of perſons, inceſſantly being given unto him, advance the intentions of their enemies: and the king's mind naturally inclined to fears and ſuperſtition, being long toſſed and perplexed, began to turn away from the BOYDS, and wiſh their power in ſome degrees brought lower and leſſened, preambles of ruin: but he would go leiſurely to produce this effect, and make one change bring forth another.

The king, increaſing in years and youthful perturba- tions, is counſelled for the continuing of his race and ſucceſſion, and the keeping his perſon without the com- mon diſorders of the world, to think upon ſome match profitable for his country, and honourable for himſelf. He is courted by many, and courteth others; the duke of Burgundy had offered him his daughter, as he had done to other princes his friends and neighbours; but his mind was not to have her married at all during his life-time.

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ANDREW STUART lord EVANDALE, then chancellor of the kingdom, with the biſhops of Glaſgow and Orkney, being ſent ambaſſadors to CHRISTIERN king of Denmark for an accommodation, and taking up ſome buſineſs concerning the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, 1469; the quarrel was taken away by a marriage to be celebrated between the king and lady MARGARET, king CHRISTIERN's daughter; a lady thought worthy of his bed, in reſpect of the excellency of her beauty, her royal deſcent, and greatneſs of her birth. All matters being agreed upon, theſe iſles engaged for her dowry, there wanted only an honourable retinue and convoy to bring home the lady. To this negociation, by the craft of ſome about the king, and vanity of others who gloried to ſee their friend promoted to ſuch great honour, THOMAS earl of Arran, as a man flouriſhing in fame and riches, and able to maintain and diſcharge all magnificence, is deputed as the fitteſt perſon. Thus by the ambition and unattentiveneſs of his friends, his worth was made the ſcaffold of his ruin, the lamentable condition of men of high deſert. In the beginning of the harveſt, accompanied with ſome young noblemen and gallants, moſt of which were his ſelect friends and well-wiſhers, he aſcendeth his ſhips. Whilſt, as the king of Scotland's brother-in-law, he is ſome months riotouſly entertained at the Daniſh court, the rigour of that Northern climate, by the congealing of the ocean, moored up his ſhips, and barred all return till the following ſpring. In this abſence of a man ſo near unto the king, his father and uncle, by age, ſickneſs, and their private affairs, not ſo frequently haunting the court as they were accuſtomed, the KENNEDIES, and they of the contrary faction, having ſhaken the king's affection, and broken theſe bands (his pleaſures, idleneſs, and vacancy from the public affairs of the ſtate) by which the BOYDS thought they had kept him ſure, move him, now a little delighting in action, to proceed to the conſideration of ſuch matters as might be objected againſt the government of the BOYDS. But that this might not appear to be an act of faction, but the univerſal conſent of the kingdom, a parliament was ſummoned to be holden in November at Edinburgh. Here ROBERT lord BOYD, with

with his brother Sir ALEXANDER, are ſummoned to anſwer in judgment to ſuch points as ſhould be exhibited againſt them. At the appointed day the lord BOYD appeared, but accompanied with ſuch a multitude of the common people, and numbers of his friends, vaſſals, and followers all in arms, with ſuch oſtentation and boaſting, that the king and courtiers were well pleaſed to ſuffer them to diſſolve and ſcatter of their own free wills. At this inſolence and malapertneſs (yet to our own time an uſual cuſtom in Scotland) the king conceived ſuch indignation, that he raiſed a ſtrong guard to attend juſtice and his commandments, and laid ſecretly forces to aſſiſt theſe, if the BOYDS ſhould oppoſe his laws by convocation of the lieges. The lord BOYD after private intelligence of the minds of the court to blow him up, rather amazed than in choler at the change of his maſter's mind, fled into England; his brother Sir ALEXANDER arreſted by ſickneſs, and relying upon his own integrity more than he ought to have done, conſidering the malice of his enemies, was brought before the parliament. His brother and he were challenged, *That upon the tenth of July* 1446. *they laid hands upon the king's perſon, and againſt his purpoſe brought him off the high-way to the caſtle of Callendar; and that by their private power and conſent, contrary to the eſtabliſhed order of the ſtate, and the other regents advice, they brought the king to Edinburgh.* When Sir ALEXANDER ſought to produce an act of parliament for abolition or approbation of this deed as good ſervice, it was kept up, and he being condemned, had his head cut off. Their other accuſations contained the topical faults of favourites, *That they had enriched themſelves out of the king's treaſure, monopolized things belonging to the crown, diminiſhed the revenues thereof, and removed worthy men from the council, placing ſuch in their room as had dependency upon them.* THOMAS earl of Arran employed in a public charge by the kingdom, abſent, and unheard, is declared rebel with his father, and his moveables eſcheated to the king. To his original faults was added, that he dared marry the king's ſiſter without conſent of the ſtates, the king being of non-age. At the noiſe of this thunder-clap,

der-clap, ROBERT lord BOYD left this world at Anwick. No ſooner had the ſpring rendered the Baltic ſeas navigable, when the Daniſh lady with her fleet anchored in the Forth: the earl of Arran who was the paranymph and her convoy, in that general gladneſs, by the perſuaſions of ſome of his friends, was preparing to come aſhore, and to ſubmit himſelf to the king's clemency. But his lady, who had afar diſcerned his danger, coming abroad diſguiſed, and giving him particular information of the calamity of his houſe, the weakneſs of his friends at court, and the many ſnares, envy and malice had laid to ſurprize him, he hoiſted ſails, and with her, who would be partaker of all his misfortunes, returned to Denmark; from Denmark by Germany he came to king LOUIS in France, who interpoſed his requeſts to king JAMES for his regreſs and reſtoring. But the letters in his favours producing no effects, CHARLES duke of Burgundy making war againſt his rebel ſubjects, he was graciouſly received by him, and entertained as his ally: his lady remained at Antwerp, where ſhe bore him two children, JAMES and GRACILE.

Lady MARGARET the 10th of July 1469, or after others 1470. maketh her entry into Edinburgh, and ſcarce having attained the ſixteenth year of her age, is married to king JAMES in the abby church of Holy-roodhouſe; and in the month of November following, by a convention of the three eſtates, was crowned queen.

The king inexorable in the behalf of the earl of Arran, and breathing his total ruin, ſendeth letters to Antwerp, filled with promiſes and threatenings, to move his ſiſter to return to Scotland. Theſe at firſt prevailed nothing with this lady to make her forſake the husband of her youth; many letters, and from ſeveral friends and well-wiſhers, in ſeveral faſhions and ſtiles, coming to her, at laſt ſhe was brought to believe her preſence would mollify the mind of her enemies, and work her husband a re-eſtabliſhment of his former favours with the king her brother, and reſtore him to all his poſſeſſion and dignities. Upon which hopes ſhe comes to Scotland. But theſe hopes proved all falſe; for inſtead of having acceſs to her brother, ſhe is kept at Kilmarnock,

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the chief houſe of the BOYDS, as in a free priſon; and her husband is ſummoned within threeſcore days to adhere to his wife under pain of divorce. The unfortunate earl, for fear of his head, not appearing, his marriage is declared null; his wife is divorced from him, and is conſtrained by her brother to marry JAMES lord HAMILTON, to whom alſo the earldom of Arran was given for a dowry. Not long after, her two children to earl THOMAS, JAMES and GRACILE, are brought to Scotland, who in proceſs of time proved little more fortunate than their father; for JAMES was ſlain by HUGH MONTGOMERY of Eglinton, and GRACILE, though firſt married to the earl of Caſſils, and after to the lord Forbes, was barren. Some have recorded, that the earl THOMAS, after this violent bereaving him of his wife, died of diſpleaſure at Antwerp, and had a tomb raiſed over him, with an honourable inſcription, by CHARLES duke of Burgundy: others, who hate the BOYDS, tell, he died not at Antwerp but at Florence, and that he was killed by a merchant out of jealouſy of having abuſed his wife.

Queen MARGARET, the third year after her marriage, in the month of March, brought forth a ſon, who was named JAMES; and CHRISTIERN king of Denmark, to congratulate the happy delivery of his daughter, and of expectation of a continued ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland of his race, releaſed all the right, title, and claim, which he or his ſucceſſors might have to the iſles of Orkney and Shetland. The king calleth afterwards a parliament at Edinburgh, wherein though the reformation of abuſes, as wearing of ſilk and other foreign trifles, the building of ſhips, and enacting laws for the preſent time were pretended, a liberal ſubſidy was the greateſt aim. His exchequer being empty, and many of his beſt friends turning neceſſitous and needy, JOHN lord of the iſles was attainted for his own and his father's miſdemeanor; the king raiſeth forces to purſue him; the earl of Crawfurd being made admiral, the earl of Athole the king's uncle lieutenant of the regiments by land. Such means in ſhort time was uſed by the earl of Athole, that the lord of the iſles ſubmitted himſelf to the king's clemency, and in a conventi-

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on of the eſtates at Edinburgh, he reſigned all the right he had to the earldom of Roſs, and the lands of Knapdale and Kintyre, which the king annexed to the crown.

PATRICK GRAHAM arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, having at Rome underſtood the fall of the BOYDS, returneth to his own country; where firſt among his friends, and the moſt peaceable ſort of the clergy, he divulgeth the pope's bull for his ſupremacy over the other churchmen of the kingdom, and his power of their trial and promoting to benefices; and after cauſed proclaim it at all public places. The laudable elections anciently uſed about the places and offices of churchmen, by the corruption of the times, being taken away, and that power altogether aſſumed by the king; the courtiers, who were accuſtomed to ſell benefices, and the churchmen who were wont to buy them, reject the bull, and ſet themſelves againſt him; by their traffick he is diſcharged to take the place or ornaments of an arch-biſhop, or carry any other croſs or cap than what the former biſhops uſed to have. But here they ſet not up their reſt; WILLIAM SCHEVEZ, a man in thoſe times admired for his ſkill in aſtrology, and promoted to be arch-dean of St. Andrews, ſeconded by JOHN LOCK the rector of that univerſity, a better grammarian than chriſtian, excommunicates this arch-biſhop for his preſumption, and that he ſought to bear rule over his brethren biſhops. When this cenſure had paſſed upon him, he is degraded and ſhut up in priſon. WILLIAM SHEVEZ is after promoted to his place, and conſecrated upon the paſſion Sunday in Lent at Holy-rood-houſe, the king being preſent: he likewiſe received the title and faculty of legate, and is confirmed primate of the realm; notwithſtanding the impediments objected to PATRICK GRAHAM by the churchmen concerning that ſame dignity and pre-eminence: So various and deceitful are the ways of men!

The king being ſlow to action, and more inclined to a ſolitary form of life, than to travel and buſineſs; his brothers being princes of unquiet and reſtleſs ſpirits, to whom public employments were recreations; and withal being ambitious, prodigal, deſirous of rule, and to be governors

vernours of the people themſelves, and kings in fact, however their elder brother was in title; they ſet themſelves altogether to ſtudy novations, and bring the king in contempt with his ſubjects, and divert their minds and love towards him. To this effect, they had drawn, by their towardneſs and familiarity, many of the young nobles and gentlemen to follow them. The king was obnoxious to ſome public ſcandals; for by his too great frugality, care to increaſe his treaſure, and ſtudy of purchaſing, by taxations, ſale of church benefices, and too exact taking up of fines, and ſupervaluation of wards; he had gotten the name of covetous, and was in no ſmall diſtaſte among the commons. EDWARD king of England, that the Scots by the inſtigation of the French, ſhould not trouble his new and ſcarce ſettled government, imploying all his counſels and diligence to divide them amongſt themſelves, wrought not a little on the unquiet ſpirits of theſe young men. The duke of Albany, having been taken upon the ſeas by the Engliſh, was honourably entertained by him, and with great hopes ſent home; after which time king EDWARD and he kept always private intelligence together. The duke being promoted to the keeping of the caſtle of Dunbar and town of Berwick; the king of England, to inſinuate himſelf into his affection, was wont to whiſper unto ſuch who loved him, that if his brother kept not fair with England, he would one day ſet him in his place upon his royal throne.

At this time the king was ſerved by men, whom his opinion of their worth and love towards him had advanced to places, and whoſe fortunes and eſtates wholly depended upon his ſafety, and who were leſs apt to do him harm. His council was likewiſe of men approved for their affection to him; and thus ſecluding great men from his familiarity and affairs, he gave them cauſe of offence. His brothers, long masking their ambition under diſcontentment, ſtir the malecontents to complain againſt the government, which ordinarily falleth forth, not becauſe a people is not well governed, but becauſe great ones would govern themſelves. Theſe upbraided the king with inglorious ſloth, and endeavour

vour by his diſhonour to increaſe the credit of his brothers. Theſe ſpared not to ſpeak evil of him every where, and what they pleaſed of his miniſters and favorites: they ſaid, "He neither uſed rule nor moderation in his proceedings; that his council was baſe, and of men of no great account, who conſulted only to humour him; that a maſon ſwayed a kingdom" (this was ROBERT COCHRAN, a man couragious and bold, firſt known to the king by his valour in a ſingle combat, and after, from an architect or ſurveyor of his buildings, preferred to be of his council) "a ſilly wretch ſwayed the ſoul of a great king, and curbed it, as it were, interdicted or charmed to his pleaſure. His contributions were the rewards of paraſites, to whom fortune, not merit, gave growth and augmentation; that honours wept over ſuch baſe men who had not deſerved them, and the ſtately frames of ancient houſes upbraided with reproaches the ſlender merits of thoſe new up-ſtarts who enjoyed them; that he began to look downwards into every ſordid way of enriching himſelf; that his privadoes abuſed him in every thing, but in nothing more than in making him believe, what was ploting againſt them, was againſt his perſon and authority; and that it was not them his brothers and the nobility ſought to pull down, but his ſovereignty."

His counſellors, ſervants, and ſuch who loved him, having long buſied their wits to ſave their maſter's reputation, and that no ſhadow of his weakneſs ſhould appear to the common people, underſtanding by whom theſe rumours were firſt ſpread abroad, and obſerving many of the nobility and gentry to favour the proceedings of his brothers, not daring diſcloſe themſelves to the king what their ſuſpicions made them fear would come to paſs, knowing him naturally ſuperſtitious, and an admirer and believer of divinations, ſuborn an aged woman, one morning as he went a hunting, to approach him, and tell, ſhe had by divination, *That he ſhould beware of his neareſt kinſmen; that from them his ruin was likely to come.* This was no ſooner told, when the woman was ſhifted, and ſome who were upon the plot began to comment the propheſy of his brothers.

A profeſſor of phyſic, for his ſkill of divination brought from Germany, and promoted to ſome church-benefice, about that ſame time told the king. *That in Scotland, a lion ſhould be devoured by his whelps.* WILLIAM SCHEVEZ, then archbiſhop of St. Andrews, by way of aſtrological predictions, put him in a fear of imminent dangers from his kindred, though truly he had his knowlege by geomancy and good informations upon earth, by the intelligence between the nobility and church-men.

Many ſuch like aſperſions being laid upon the king, the people cried out, that he had only for his fellow-companions aſtrologers and ſooth-ſayers, whom, as occaſion ſerved, he preferred to church benefices and biſhoprics. PATRICK GRAHAM, then priſoner in Dunfermline, a man deſolate and forgotten, as if there had not been ſuch a man in the world, taking the opportunity of the rumours of the time, ſent a letter to the king; which contained,

"That the miſery of his impriſonment was not ſo "grievous unto him as the ſad reports which he heard "of his majeſty's eſtate; he was hardly brought to be-"lieve them, but by his long detention and impriſon-"ment, he was aſſured his great enemy was in great "credit with him. That he had brought the king ve-"ry low in making him jealous of his brothers, by giv-"ing truſt to his vain divinations; and no wonder "theſe arts bring forth diſſenſions, which have their "precepts from the father of lies and diſcord. To "foment diſcord among brothers, was reproachful to "religion, and outragious to policy; to ſeek to know "things to come by the ſtars, was great ignorance, "and that oracles leave a man in a wilderneſs of folly. "That there was no other difference betwixt necro-"mancy and aſtrology, ſaving that in the one, men run "voluntarily to the devil, and in the other ignorantly. "Humanity attains not to the ſecrets above; and if "it did, it is not wiſe enough to divert the wiſdom of "heaven, which is not to be reſiſted, but ſubmitted un-"to; that never any had recourſe to theſe arts, but "they had fatal ends; that almighty providence per-"mitted that to befal them out of his juſtice, of neceſ-

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"ſity, which before the oracle was ſought, was ſcarce "contingent; that he ſhould reſt upon the almighty's "providence, and then all things would ſucceed well "with him, whoſe favours would waft him out of the "ſurges of uncertainties."

After this free opening of his mind, PATRICK GRAHAM was removed out of Dunfermline to the caſtle of Loch-levin (a place renowned long after by the impriſonment of MARY queen of Scotland;) where in a ſhort time he left the miſeries of this world.

The people now throughly deceived and incenſed againſt their king, the moſt audacious of the nobility had brought his brothers on the way of taking the government to themſelves, their power being able to perform what their ambition projected; and the murmuring of the people ſeeming to applaud any inſurrections. The earl of Mar, young and raſh, purblind in foreſeeing the events of things, is ſtirred up to begin the tragedy. Some of the nobility of his faction being preſent, with more liberty than wiſdom, he broke out in menacing and undecent ſpeeches, as, *That his brother did wrong to majeſty in keeping near him, and being ſo familiar with ſuch contemptible fellows, as theſe of his bed-chamber and officers;* withal railing againſt the government of the ſtate and court. The king, paſſionately reſenting his words, cauſed remove him from his preſence; and he, perſevering in his railing, was committed to the caſtle of Craigmillar, where ſurmiſing that he was in a priſon, his anger turned into a rage, his rage kindled a fever, and his fever advanced to a phrenſy. This ſickneſs increaſing, that he might be more near to the court and his friends, in the night he is tranſported to the Canongate in Edinburgh. The king, compaſſionate of his diſeaſe, ſendeth his phyſicians to attend him; they, to reſtore his underſtanding, which was moleſted, open ſome veins of his head and arms, in which time, whether by his own diſorder and miſgovernment in his ſickneſs, the bands being looſed which tied the lancing; or, that they took too great a quantity of blood from him, he fainted, and after ſwooning, died unawares amongſt the hands of his beſt friends and ſervants. Theſe, who hated the king, gave out that he was taken away

by his command, and ſome writers have recorded the ſame; but no ſuch faith ſhould be given unto them, as to WILLIAM ELPHINSTON biſhop of Aberdeen, who was living in that time, and whoſe records we have followed, who for his place could not but know, and for his poſſeſſion would not but deliver, the very truth. Certain witches and ſorcerers being taken and examined, and convicted of ſorcery at this time, and being ſuborned, they confeſſed that the earl of Mar had dealt with them in prejudice of the king, and to have him taken away by incantation. For the king's image being framed in wax, and with many ſpells and incantations baptized, and ſet unto a fire, they perſuaded themſelves the king's perſon ſhould fall away as that image conſumed by the fire; and by the death of the king, the brothers ſhould reach the government of the ſtate. With ſuch vanities was the common people amuſed!

ALEXANDER duke of Albany, imputing the death of his brother to the favorites of the king, and avouching them to have been the occaſion of his diſtraction, ſtirred the nobility and people to revenge ſo foul a deed. But whilſt he keeps private meetings with them of his faction in the night to facilitate their enterprize, betrayed by ſome of his followers, he is ſurprized, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh. Out of which, about the appointed time of his trial, by the killing of his keeper he eſcaped, and in a ſhip, which to that effect was hired, ſailing to the caſtle of Dunbar, of which he had the keeping, he paſſed to France. After the eſcape of the duke of Albany, the lord EVANDALE chancellor of the kingdom, raiſing the power of the neareſt ſhires, beleagured the caſtle of Dunbar: the beſieged unprovided of victuals, as men expecting no ſuch alterations, betake themſelves in ſmall boats to the ſea, and came ſafe towards the coaſts of England. The caſtle, having none to defend it, is taken; ſome gentlemen in purſuit of the flying ſoldiers, by their own raſhneſs periſhed.

The kings of Scotland and England toſſed along with civil troubles, and affecting peace with all their neighbours, by an equal and mutual conſent of thoughts, ſend at one time ambaſſadors to one another, who firſt conclude

conclude a peace between the two nations; and that poſterity might be partakers of this accord, contract afterwards an alliance between the two kings. It was agreed, that the princeſs CECILIA, youngeſt daughter to king EDWARD, ſhould marry with JAMES duke of Rotheſay, when they came to years of diſcretion. A motion heard with great acceptance; but it was thought by ſome familiar with king EDWARD, and in his moſt inward councils, that really he never intended this marriage, and that this negociation aimed only to temporize with Scotland, in caſe that LOUIS of France ſhould ſtir up an invaſion of England by the king of Scotland. King LOUIS at this time had ſent one doctor IRELAND a Sorboniſt, to move king JAMES to trouble the kingdom of England, and to give over the projected marriage; which when king EDWARD underſtood, knowing what a diſtance was between things promiſed and performed, to oblige king JAMES, and tie him more ſtrongly to the bargain, that this marriage might have more ſway, he cauſed, for the preſent maintenance of the prince, and as it were a part of the dowry of lady CECILIA, deliver certain ſums of mony to king JAMES. Notwithſtanding which benevolence, the witty LOUIS wrought ſo with the Scotiſh nobility, that King JAMES ſent ambaſſadors to the king of England, entreating him not to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy his brother-in-law againſt king LOUIS, which if he refuſed to do, the nobility of Scotland, who were now turned inſolent, would conſtrain him, by reaſon of the ancient league between the French and the Scots, to aſſiſt the French.

The duke of Albany, during his abode in France, had married a daughter of the earl of Boulogne (ſhe was his ſecond wife, his firſt having been a daughter of the earl of Orkney, a lady of great parentage and many friends;) who inceſſantly importuned king LOUIS to aid the duke for the recovery of his inheritance and places in the ſtate of Scotland, out of which he was kept by the evil counſellors of his brother. LOUIS minding to make good uſe of his brother, and under-hand increaſing diſcords and jealouſies between him and the king of England, ſlighting his ſuits, told him, *He could*

not juſtify his taking of arms to ſettle a ſubject in his inheritance; that princes ought to be wrought upon by perſuaſion, not violence, and he ſhould not trouble a king otherways than by prayers and petitions, which he would be earneſt to perform. Upon this refuſal the duke of Albany, having buried his ducheſs, troubled with new thoughts, came to England. King EDWARD, with accuſtomed courteſies receiving him, giveth him hopes of aſſiſtance, entering often in communication with him how to divert the kingdom of Scotland from the invaſion of his dominions at the deſire of the French, the agents and traffickers of LOUIS lying ſtill in Scotland, and daily bribing and ſoliciting the Scots nobility to oblige the Engliſh to ſtay at home. The duke freely, and in the worſt ſenſe revealed the weakneſs of his kingdom, "That his king was opinionative, and had nothing of "a prince in him but the name: his ungoverned ſpi- "rit diſdained to liſten to the temperate counſel of ſo- "ber men, obeying only his own judgment. Such "who governed under him, were mean perſons and "of no account, great only by his favour, and endowed "with little virtue; who ruling as they liſted, and ex- "cluding all others, made uſe of his authority for their "own profit and advantage. The nobility were male- "contents, and affected a change in the government; "which might be eaſily brought to paſs by the aſſiſtance "of king EDWARD. If he would help to raiſe ſome "civil broils and diſſenſion in the nation itſelf, he need- "ed not to be in fear that they could or would trouble "his country by any invaſion." The king hearing the duke manifeſt what he moſt affected, approving his judgment, promiſed him all neceſſaries, and what he could deſire to accompliſh the deſign: and he undertaketh by ſome fair way to traffick with the nobility of Scotland for an alteration of the preſent form of government. After a dangerous intelligence, the lords of Scotland, who under the ſhadow of the public good, but really out of their diſdain and particular intereſts, conſpired againſt the king, ſent the duke word, "*The gold-* "*en age could not be framed, nor arms taken for the good of the* "*commonwealth, nor the ſtate altered, without the ſeque-* "*ſtring of thoſe from the king who miſgoverned him.* And

"theſe

" theſe could not be removed by that power which was
" amongſt themſelves, without great danger and trouble,
" conſiderin gthe king's faction and the malignant party.
" If king EDWARD would agree to the raiſing of an ar-
" my in England, in favour of the duke of Albany, and
" for reſtoring him to his places and inheritance, out of
" which he was moſt unjuſtly ejected; and other pre-
" tences, of which they ſhould afford the occaſions;
" which no way ſhould do harm to the kingdom of
" Scotland, diſordered already, and laid waſte, more by
" the licence of a tyrant in peace, than it could have
" been by war; and at this time beſtow upon them fa-
" vours, as they might one day hereafter challenge to
" receive the like; the nobility of Scotland ſhould be
" ready with another army, not to fight, but to ſeize
" upon the king's favorites, and miſgovernors of the
" ſtate: for which the Engliſh ſhould have many thanks.
" That this enterprize could not but prove moſt ſucceſs-
" ful, the hatred of the commons conſidered, againſt
" ſuch violent oppreſſions. The king was fallen into
" ſo low eſteem, that aſſaulted by the Engliſh, he would
" be conſtrained by the ſubmiſſion of his crown to in-
" treat for ſafety." The king of England, underſtanding this was to touch the fineſt ſtring of ſtate and dominion (for it is a matter of much conſequence and main importance to defend the ſubjects of another prince; for under this maſk and pretence of protecting the liberties of a people, of aſſiſtance and aid, an uſurpation and oppreſſion of all liberty might be hidden: and many have eſtabliſhed and ſettled themſelves in thoſe kingdoms, which they came to relieve from tyranny, and the oppreſſion of their rulers, keeping by force what was granted to them at firſt by way of truſt, and under the colour of helping, uſurped a ſovereignty;) agreeth eaſily to what was demanded and reſolved upon.

The lords of the aſſociation, to play more covertly their game, and maſk their intentions (the commons ever ſuffering and paying for the faults and errors of the great ones,) give way for the breaking looſe of the borderers. Fierce incurſions by the Engliſh are made upon Scotland, and by the Scots upon England; ſome villages on either ſide are burnt. The ſecrecy to this buſineſs,

ſineſs, which was inviolably obſerved, was of great importance, which is the principal knot and tie of great affairs. Rumours are ſpred, that the dukes of Gloceſter, and Albany, with JAMES late earl of Douglas, and ALEXANDER JERDAN, and PATRICK HALYBURTON, men proſcribed, and upon whoſe heads a price was ſet, were at Anwick with a powerful army, and in their march towards Kelſo. The king, awaked out of his trances by the alarms of his nobility, and clamours of the people, maketh proclamations to all between ſixty years and ſixteen to meet him at Edinburgh, and to be in readineſs to oppoſe their old enemies of England now come upon the borders.

After many delays and much loitering, an army is aſſembled by the nobility, which conſiſted of , and a number of carts charged with ſmall ordinance. New incurſions being blazed to have been made by the Engliſh, the king amidſt theſe troops marched to Lawder. The army was encamped, and all things ordered the beſt way the occaſion could ſuffer them, little or nothing being left to fortune, if the Engliſh ſhould invade, whom the lords knew were not at all yet gathered, and though gathered, and in a body, and upon the borders, or nearer, would never invade them.

The king at this time is marvellouſly perplexed, and become ſuſpicious of the intentions of his nobility in this army: in this confuſion of thoughts, he fell upon two extreams. In his demeanour and converſation too familiar and inward with his old domeſtic ſervants and favorites, which rendered them inſolent (believing the bare name of king to be ſufficient, whilſt weakneſs and ſimplicity had made him deſpiſed, and them hated;) and too retired, reſerved, and eſtranged from his nobility, which made them malicious.

This he did, as his penſiveneſs conjectured, that his nobles ſhould not attempt any thing to the prejudice of his royal authority, independent of any council. But what he moſt feared came to paſs; he reſolved and diſpatched all matters by his cabinet-council; where the ſurveyor of his buildings was better acquainted with the affairs of the ſtate than the graveſt of his nobility. This prepoſterous courſe of favour made the great men

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of the kingdom to fall head-long upon their raſh, though long projected, attempt. After many private conferences in their pavilions, the chiefs of the inſurrection, as the earls of Angus, Lenox, Huntley, the lords GRAY, LILE, and others, about midnight came together in the church of Lawder, with many barons and gentlemen. Here every one of them, urging the neceſſity of the times, and the dangers the commonwealth was like to fall into, requireth ſpeedy reſolutions; and having before premeditated, deliberated, and concluded what to follow, they drew up a league and confederation of mutual adherence in this order.

" Foraſmuch as the king ſuffereth himſelf to be go-
" verned by mean perſons, and men of no account, to
" the contempt of the nobility, and his beſt ſubjects,
" and to the great loſs of the commons; the confede-
" rates, conſidering the imminent dangers of the king-
" dom, ſhall endeavour to ſeparate the king's majeſty
" from theſe naughty upſtarts, who abuſe his name and
" authority, and deſpiſe all good men; and have a
" care that the commonwealth receive no damage.
" And in this quarrel they ſhall all ſtand mutually e-
" very one to the defence of another."

The plot agreed upon, and the confederacy ſworn, the chiefs of them in arms enter the king's pavilion; where, after they had challenged him of many diſorders in his government, contrary to his honour, the laws and good of his kingdom, they took Sir WILLIAM ROGERS, a man, from a muſician, promoted to be a knight, JAMES HOMMIL, ROBERT COCHRAN, who of a ſurvey or, of his works was made earl of Mar, or, as ſome mitigate that title, intromittor with, and taker up of the rents of that earldom, by whoſe device, ſome authors have alleged, copper-mony had been coined, by which a dearth was brought amongſt the commons; which, as others have recorded, was an unjuſt imputation, for that copper-mony was coined in the minority of the king, in the time of the government of the BOYDS, with others. All theſe, being convicted by the clamours of the army, were immediately hanged upon the river Lidder. JOHN RAMSAY, a youth of eighteen years of age, by the intreaties, prayers and em-

braces of the king, was preſerved. Thus they, the late objects of envy, were turned and become the objects of pity and compaſſion. The body of the commons and the gentry of the kingdom, by this notorious act at Lawder, being engaged, and being partakers of the quarrel of the diſcontented noblemen, and for their own ſafety tied to ſecond and to aſſiſt all their intentions, and to advance their ends, the king is conveyed to Edinburgh, and ſhortly after he either incloſed himſelf in the maiden caſtle, as his lodging, or, which is more probable, was there, by the contrary faction committed as into his priſon, the earl of Athole, and ſome other lords being appointed to attend him.

During this time, the general humour of the kingdom being ripe for miſchief, ALEXANDER duke of Albany, every thing falling right as it was plotted, prevailed ſo with king EDWARD, that the duke of Gloceſter, the king of England's brother, with the title of lieutenant-general for him, ſet forwards toward Scotland. The army conſiſted of two and twenty thouſand and five hundred. In his retinue there went of the nobility, HENRY earl of Northumberland, THOMAS lord STANLEY, and with them was the duke of Albany. The earl of Douglas came not, being reſerved for an after-game. The duke of Albany having been before commander of Berwick, and a man who was ſtill in his abſence beloved of that gariſon, diverted the duke of Gloceſter from Anwick, where he had encamped in June, to aſſail the town of Berwick. By his intelligence they enter the town without great oppoſition, and it is given up to their diſcretion. The caſtle by the lord HAILES, then captain, was made good againſt their aſſaults. The duke of Gloceſter foreſeeing that this ſiege would ſpend much time, conſidering the uncertainty of events, and being invited to march forward by the lords of the aſſociation of Scotland, committing the charge of aſſailing the caſtle to the lord STANLEY, Sir JOHN ELRINGTON, and Sir WILLIAM PARR, with the body of the army marched directly to Edinburgh.

The country lay open to their invaſion, and no army taking the field to oppoſe them, they came into Scotland the twentieth day of Auguſt 1482. The army

my encamped at Reſtalrig, the duke himſelf entered the town of Edinburgh, which, at the intreaty of the duke of Albany, who was his harbinger, he ſpared, receiving ſuch preſents as the citizens offered unto him: his entry ſeeming rather a triumph than hoſtile invaſion. The king being ſhut up from him and immured in the caſtle, the duke by a public writing at the market places gave out high demands; "That king JAMES ſhould per-" form what he had covenanted with his brother king " EDWARD; that he ſhould give ſatisfaction for the " damage done the Engliſh, during the laſt inroads " of the borderers; which if he refuſed to accompliſh, " he, as lieutenant to his brother, was to exact of him, " and to take ſatisfaction of his country, denouncing " open war, and proclaiming all hoſtility againſt him." King JAMES, forſaken of his people, and wronged by his lords, laying aſide his paſſions, and taking to him more moderate and diſcreet thoughts, as a man in priſon, anſwered nothing to his demands.

The lords, who by their king's misfortune had reckoned their felicity, having obtained what they chiefly deſired, to obviate the common and laſt danger, the thraldom of their kingdom by theſe ſtrangers whom they had drawn into the country for the recovery of their liberties, aſſemble themſelves together at Hadington with ſome companies, not to fight but to ſupplicate. They ſent the lord DARNLEY, and the elected biſhop of Murray, to intreat a ſuſpenſion of arms, and require a firm and laſting peace for the time to come. "The begin-" ning of the war, and taking of arms, was for the ſafety " of this the neighbour country of England, miſerably " thralled by a licentious prince: there was nothing " more unworthy of a king or republic, than not to " keep their promiſed faith. The Engliſh could have " have no colour for executing their indignation fur-" ther upon this country, which already by the rapine " of their own men was impoveriſhed and unmanured: " only now to be recovered by entertaining peace with " their neighbours, and amongſt themſelves." They required "That the marriage contracted between the " prince of Rotheſay and lady CECILIA, king ED-" WARD's daughter, might be accompliſhed, when it

" ſhould

" ſhould pleaſe the king of England, and the age of " the two princes might ſuffer it. For any ſpoil taken " in theſe laſt incurſions, the intereſt conſidered upon " both ſides, ſatisfaction ſhould be given out of the pu- " blic contributions." The duke of Gloceſter, as forgetting and ſeeming not to know the grounds of their coming into the country, and looking to nothing more than his own fame and glory, anſwered, " His coming " into Scotland was to right the honour of his country " ſo often violated; and to reſtore the duke of Albany, " unjuſtly commanded to exile, to his own native ſoil, " and the dignity of his birth. As concerning the mar- " riage of the prince of Scotland with the daughter of " England, he knew not how his brother's reſolution " ſtood at the preſent; whereupon he required repay- " ment of the monys lent to their king upon the firſt a- " greement; and withal a delivery of the caſtle of Ber- " wick up into his hands: or if they could not make " the caſtle to be rendered, they ſhould give their oaths " upon the holy evangeliſts, that they ſhould neither " aſſiſt the beſieged, nor harm the beſiegers, till the " caſtle were either by force taken, or upon fair condi- " tions rendered.

The lords, having received this anſwer, yielded freely to all the conditions, except that they found themſelves perplexed in the rendering of Berwick; it being a town of old appertaining to the crown of Scotland: though by force and violence the Engliſh had a long time kept it, that did not take away their right and title. After much conteſting, agreeing to the ſurrender of Berwick, they deſired that the walls of the town ſhould be demoliſhed, that it might not be a place of tyranny and incurſion over their bordering countries. No arguments could prevail againſt the duke of Gloceſter's reſolutions, and being ſtronger in power, he perſevered in his demands; and in all likelihood this was agreed upon between the duke of Albany and the confederate lords, and the Engliſh, before their entering Scotland. Thus the caſtle and town of Berwick returned to the Engliſh the 24th of Auguſt 1482. after it had been delivered by queen MARGARET, to gain ſanctuary for her husband king HENRY, when expelled England,

England, and remained in the poſſeſſion of the Scots twenty and one years.

They likewiſe appointed a day for reſtitution of all the mony, lent by king EDWARD, and promiſed upon a full diſcuſſion to make ſatisfaction for all damages done the Engliſh by any in-road of the Scotiſh borderers. For the duke of Albany's proviſion, whoſe ſafety was principally pretended in this expedition, a general pardon was promiſed for him and all his followers, together with an abolition of all diſcontents: whereby he had given unto him the caſtle of Dunbar, with the earldoms of Mar and March; he ſhould be re-inveſted in all his former dignities and places; and by conſent of the nobility of Scotland, he was proclaimed lieutenant of the kingdom.

The peace being proclaimed, the duke of Glocester in all ſolemnity of greatneſs returned towards London, being welcomed by the king with many demonſtrations of great joy. He, to ſhow how much he approved the conditions of this peace, went ſolemnly in proceſſion from St. STEPHEN's chapel, now the parliament-houſe, accompanied with the queen his ſiſter, and a mighty retinue of the greateſt lords, into Weſtminſter hall; where in preſence of the earl of Angus, the lord GRAY, and Sir JAMES LIDDALE, ambaſſadors extraordinary from Scotland, the peace was ratified. At the return of the Scots ambaſſadors to their country, king EDWARD ſent an herald with them, who in his maſter's name gave over the marriage contracted between the lady CECILIA and the prince of Rotheſay, and required the mony, which had been delivered upon hopes of conſummation, to his king. The citizens of Edinburgh had given their bond for the redelivery, and a day being granted to them for the payment, they at the appointed day entirely delivered the ſum. Some thought king EDWARD recalled this marriage, of a ſuſpicion he conceived, that the ambition of the duke of Albany, and the hatred of the ſubjects againſt their king, amidſt the manifold diſtractions of the realm, might hazard the ſucceſſion of the prince of Rotheſay to the crown. But king EDWARD having gained, what he had endeavoured moſt to acquire, a diviſion amongſt the nobles

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of Scotland, and by this a ſecurity from their aſſiſting the French, rejected the match. Beſides the duke of Gloceſter, who, after his coming into Scotland, was laying the foundations of uſurping the crown of England, his brother once dead, thought the alliance of his brother's daughter with a king of Scotland, too ſtrong a ſupport to that race, which he was to declare baſtards, and a rock upon which he was confident, he ſhould make a fearful ſhipwrack. Neither, his brother's daughter being married to a king of ſuch martial and turbulent ſubjects as the people of Scotland, durſt he ever attempt the taking away of her brothers: and king EDWARD in neglect of this match committed a greater error of ſtate than he did in his marrying the lady ELIZABETH GREY, and forſaking the lady BONA, daughter to the duke of Savoy.

According to the records of ſome authors, whilſt the king is kept nine months in the caſtle of Edinburgh, the duke of Albany, the lord EVANDALE chancellor, the earl of Argyle, the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, the earl of Athole his uncle (who for the preſervation of his perſon, and honour of his office, accepted the charge to attend him in that fortreſs) governed the ſtate.

The king, ſay the honeſt records, had all honour which appertained to a prince, ſave that he could not come abroad, and none was permitted to ſpeak unto him, except in the audience of ſome one of his lords keeppers; and that his chamber doors were ſhut before the ſetting of the ſun, and long after the riſing opened. Proclamations are publiſhed in his name and authority, and other public writings. Such who only heard of him could not but take him to be a free and abſolute prince; when nearly viewed, he was but a king in phantaſy, and his throne but a picture; the legal authority being turned into a cloak to cover the paſſions of thoſe who did govern.

The duke of Albany daily importuned by the ſolicitations, prayers, and tears of the queen, a calm and temperate lady, for her husband's liberty; finding himſelf not ſo reſpected by the other governors as his birth and merits did deſerve; being a man who delighted in nothing more than in changes and novations of court and ſtate;

ſtate; after ſo many ſcorns and rebukes offered to his brother and king, commiſerating his long ſufferings, and believing that good turns would make paſt offences be forgotten, and that recent benefits were ſufficient to blot away old injuries, with all rememberance of former diſcontents, whilſt the other governors at Stirling, ſecurely paſſed the time, poſted in the night to Edinburgh. Here a meeting being appointed of ſome of his friends and vaſſals, who knew nothing of his intentions, by the aſſiſtance of the citizens of Edinburgh (men intirely loving their king, and devoted to him all the time of the inſurrection of his nobles) who gave the firſt aſſault, yet was it rather their intelligence than force, the caſtle is ſurprized, and the king and all his ſervants ſet at liberty. This unexpected and noble act of the duke of Albany, having ſo fortunate a ſucceſs, brought a mighty change on the court and ſtate. The king is now again re-inſtaled, and hath his reſidence in his own palace, to which many noblemen and gentlemen have frequent concourſe; rejoicing to ſee ſuch evident tokens of love paſs between the two brothers, if their affection could have continued. The provoſt and bailies of Edinburgh, in recompence of their ſervice, were made ſheriffs within all the bounds of their own territories, and rewarded with other privileges contained in that patent, which they call their golden charter 1482. The lords of the contrary faction, who remained at Stirling, by this new accident, betook themſelves to new thoughts and conſiderations, every man full of fears and repinings flying to his own dwelling-place, and conceiving a great hatred againſt the duke of Albany. They ſaid, *He was inconſtant, raſh, mad, in ſetting at liberty the man who would prove his executioner, and one who would never forget any profered injury: that if he periſhed before them, it was but his own juſt deſerving and procurement.* The duke contemning thoſe reproaches, and anſwering their calumnies and evil words with patience and good deeds, by the mediation of the earl of Angus, ſtudied a reconciliation between the king and his diſcontented lords. And his endeavours had ſuch good ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time after this atonement, ſome of them turned ſo familiar and intimate with the king, that,

that, like the ivy, they began to ſap the wall by which they had been ſupported: they made the wound of the king's old jealouſies rankle again, and added poiſon to former diſcontents; remembering him of the unnaturalneſs of his brother's firſt rebellion, and aſſuring him, "That his ancient ambition had yet more power over "him than his new fears had of honeſty and reſpect. "That howſoever he ſhewed outwardly the arguments "of a reconciled brother, he loved yet to govern, and "aimed at the crown. That he had wrought his liber- "ty to bring a greater confuſion in the ſtate than he "had ever done before." The king who ever had a watchful eye over his reconciled enemies, and who deſired to be freed and fairly quitted of them all, gave way to their calumnies. And they after long deliberation reſolved upon a plot, to bring the duke within the compaſs of law, and ſummoned him to anſwer upon treaſon. And this was the rendering of the town of Berwick to the Engliſh; which they undertook to prove was only by his intelligence, procuration, and being in company with the duke of Gloceſter, in that expedition. Though the duke had an abſolute and general pardon, and an abolition for all was paſt, and the king's hand at it, they doubted not to annul and make it void. All being done by a king conſtrained by a powerful army, and a cloſe priſoner, which writing could not oblige any private man, far leſs a king; what he then bargained was upon conſtraint, and yielded unto upon hopes of ſaving his life, and an act exacted by force. The duke of Albany finding, by the malice and detraction of a malignant faction, his brother's countenance altered towards him; and that danger was the requital of his late ſetting him at liberty, the eſtabliſhed reconciliation being ſhaken by ſuſpicions and fancy of revenge, obeying neceſſity, fled to his caſtle of Dunbar, out of which he came to England, to preſent to king EDWARD and the duke of Gloceſter the conſideration of his grievances.

In his abſence he is convicted of many points of treaſon, beſides the being acceſſary to the taking of Berwick by the Engliſh. As, "His dangerous and long intel- "ligence with the king of England; his ſending of ma-

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" ny meſſengers at all occaſions unto him. That with-
" out any ſafe conduct or paſs from his brother, and
" not ſo much as acquainting him, he had left the
" country, and come into England to deviſe conſpira-
" cies againſt his king and native kingdom." The lord CREIGHTON, as his friend, aſſociate, and accomplice, is forfeited with him, againſt whom informations were given, " That often and divers times, under the pre-
" tence of hunting, ſecretly with the duke of Albany
" he rode into England, and there meeting with com-
" miſſioners ſent by king EDWARD, he deliberated of
" matters concerning novations and of the altering the
" ſtate; that there he kept appointments with JAMES
" earl of Douglas, the often quenched fire-brand of his
" country: that in ſpite of the king's forces ſent there
" to lie in garriſon, he kept the caſtle of Creighton."
The greateſt diſcontent the king conceived againſt him was love to one of his ſiſters, and ſome feminine jealouſies. When the duke underſtood the procedure againſt himſelf, and the lord CREIGHTON, and that for their contumacy, and not appearing to anſwer, and give in their defences, they were convicted of treaſon, and their lands to be ſeized upon; he cauſed give up the caſtle of Dunbar, of which he was lieutenant, to king EDWARD, who immediately placed by ſea a garriſon in it.

About this time, EDWARD king of England left this world 1483, and his brother RICHARD duke of Gloceſter did firſt take the name of protector and governour of the kingdom of England, and after his brother's ſons being put in the tower, and their mother the queen taking ſanctuary, in the month of June, poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown.

The duke of Albany, finding that RICHARD by his change of fortune had not changed his affection towards him, imploreth his aid in reſtoring him to his own, and repairing not his wrongs alone, but a wrong done in his ſufferings to the king of England, ſince there was now an open breach of the truce and peace ſo ſolemnly by him ſet down, and confirmed by his brother. If he could be furniſhed but with a few number of choice men of reputation and power to paſs into Scotland, and take a trial of the minds and good will of his friends and con-

federates

ſederates, he doubted not, at his entering the country, to find numbers, who, by his preſence, would hazard upon the moſt deſperate dangers.

RICHARD finding the man his ſupplicant, with whom he endeavoured once an entire friendſhip, and whoſe advancement in authority he had moſt ſtudied, condeſcendeth that five hundred men and horſes ſhould be choſen upon the borders, with others who were outlaws, and neceſſitated ſometime to make incurſions, and with JAMES the old earl of Douglas, a man well known and renowned in the weſt borders, ſhould make an in-road into Scotland.

The two and twenty day of July, the baniſhed champions, having choſen a good number of their borderers, put forwards towards Lochmaben to ſurprize a fair, ſpoil a public mercat, ſeize upon all the buyers and ſellers, which here meet and traffick every St. Magdalen's feſtival. Under pretence of devotion and the liberty of trading many Engliſh had hither reſorted: at the twelfth hour of the day, when the merchants and country people were in greateſt ſecurity, the burſe is invaded, and not blood but wares ſought after. The laird of Johnſton who was warden, and the laird of Cockpool, with many ſtout borderers, having ſurveyed and ridden through the places where the people were met, to prevent and hinder all diſorders and dangers, at the noiſe of an incurſion of the Engliſh, diſpatch poſts to the adjacent bounds for ſupply; and in the mean time, rencounter the plunderers of the fair. Here it is fought with greater courage than force, and in a long continued ſkirmiſh, the danger of the loſs ſtiring up and inciting the parties, as much as fame and glory.

The day was near ſpent, leaving the advantage to either ſide diſputable, when the ſupply of freſh men, come to defend their country and friends, turned the fortune of the fight, and put the Engliſh borderers all to the rout. The duke of Albany, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and the good attendance of his ſervants, winneth Engliſh ground; but the earl of Douglas, loaden and heavy with years and arms, is taken by ROBERT KIRKPATRICK, who for that ſervice got the lands of Kirk-michael, and brought as in triumph to Edinburgh.

burgh. It it recorded, that when the earl was come into the king's preſence, he turned his back, and refuſed to look him in the face, conſidering the many outrages he had perpetrated againſt his father, and this late offence. The king taken with the goodly perſonage, gravity, and great age of the man, commiſerating his long patience and croſs fortune, being in his young days deſigned to be a church-man, confined him as in a free priſon in the abbacy of Lundores.

Beſides, he conſidered, that when occaſion ſerved, he might bring him out of this ſolitarineſs, and in theſe turbulent times, by his counſel and preſence, play more advantageouſly his game of ſtate, being a man of long experience in the affairs of the world, and the moſt learned of all his nobility. He was now become tired of the earl of Angus, the rememberance of his firſt offence remaining deeply ingraven in his heart; to counterpoiſe his greatneſs, this was the only weight. The duke of Albany found little better entertainment in England, the battle being loſt, ſome men taken and killed (this being the firſt road upon Scotland under the reign of RICHARD, who had been formerly ſo fortunate in his own perſon) his fame injured, and reputation by this diminiſhed, the duke began to be diſliked of him, and was not received with that kindneſs he was wont; whereupon by the aſſiſtance and convoy of JOHN LIDDALE, he ſecretly retired to France.

After the road of Lochmaben, ſundry incurſions are made by the Scots upon the Engliſh borders, and by the Engliſh upon the Scotiſh: the campain ground is ſcoured, houſes are burnt, booties taken, with great loſs to both, and little advantage to any of the parties. RICHARD having his reign in the infancy, and not yet ſettled nor come to any growth and maturity, being obnoxious to the ſcandal of the murder of his brother's ſons, and poſſeſſed with fears of HENRY earl of Richmond then remaining in France, who by all honeſt and good men was earneſtly invited to come home, and hazard one day of battle for a whole kingdom, knowing it neceſſary for the advancement of his deſigns to have peace with all his neighbour princes, to render himſelf more ſecure and ſafe at home, and terrible to his enemies.

mies abroad, ſendeth ambaſſadors to Scotland to treat a peace, or a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſome years. King JAMES, no more ſoftly rocked in the cradle of ſtate than RICHARD, chearfully accepteth this embaſſy; for by a peace he may a little calm the ſtormy and wild minds of his tumultuous ſubjects, reducing them to a more quiet faſhion of living, and ſeclude his rebels and baniſhed ſubjects from entertainment in England, and all places of refuge and ſanctuary. The two kings agreeing in ſubſtance, commiſſioners are appointed to meet at Nottingham the ſeventeenth day of September. For the king of Scotland appeared the earl of Argyle, WILLIAM ELPHINSTON biſhop of Aberdeen, the lord DRUMMOND of Stobhall, the lord OLIPHANT, ARCHIBALD WHITELAW ſecretary, and DUNCAN DUNDASS lion king of arms. For RICHARD of England appeared the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland, the lord STANLEY, the lord GREY, the lord FITZ-HUGH, JOHN GUNTHROPE privy-ſeal, THOMAS BARROW maſter of the rolls, and Sir THOMAS BRIAN chief juſtice.

In the latter end of September theſe conclude a peace between both realms for the ſpace of three years: the ſame to begin at the riſing of the ſun September 29th in the year 1484. and to continue unto the ſetting of the ſun on the 29th of September in the year 1487. During which time, it was agreed, that not only all hoſtility and war ſhould ceaſe between the two realms, but that alſo all aid and aſſiſtance againſt enemies ſhould be afforded.

It was agreed, *The town and caſtle of Berwick ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh for the ſpace of the foreſaid term, with the ſame bounds the Engliſh poſſeſſed.*

That all other caſtles, holds and fortreſſes, during the term of three years, ſhould remain in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the caſtle of Dunbar only excepted, which the duke of Albany delivered to the Engliſh when he left his country. Which caſtle, for the ſpace of ſix months, ſhould be expoſed to the invaſion of the Scots, if they could obtain it, and during the aſſaulting of this caſtle, the truce ſhould not be broken. Neither ſhould the Engliſh within the caſtle do any harm to the Scots dwelling there-

thereabouts, except to thoſe who invade the caſtle, and at that time. And that it ſhould be lawful to any of the parties to uſe all ſtratagems, and extend their power either for winning or defending the ſaid caſtle.

It was agreed, *That no traitor of either realm ſhould be received by any of the princes of the other realm; and if any traitor or rebel chance to arrive in either realm, the prince thereof ſhould deliver him upon demand made.*

Scots abiding within the realm of England, and ſworn there to the king, may remain ſtill, ſo their names be made known to the king of Scotland within forty days.

If any warden of either realm ſhall invade the other's ſubjects, he to whom ſuch a warden is ſubject ſhall within ſix days proclaim him traitor, and certify the other prince thereof within twelve days.

In every ſafe conduct this clauſe ſhall be contained, providing always that the obtainer of the ſafe conduct be no traitor.

If any of the ſubjects of either prince do preſume to aid and help, maintain and ſerve any other prince, againſt any of the contractors of this truce, then it ſhall be lawful for him to whom he ſhewed himſelf enemy, to apprehend and attack the ſaid ſubject coming or tarrying within any of their dominions.

The collegues comprehended in the truce, if they would aſſent thereunto, on the Engliſh part, were the king of Caſtile, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugal, the arch-duke of Auſtria and Burgundy, the duke of Bretaign. Upon the Scotiſh part, CHARLES *king of France, the king of Denmark and Norway, and the duke of Guelderland.* This treaty was appointed to be publiſhed the firſt of October in all the great and notable towns of both realms.

It was agreed, *That commiſſioners ſhould meet at Lochmaben the 18th of November, as well for redreſs of wrongs done on the weſt marches, as for declaring and publiſhing the peace, where the greateſt difficulty was to have it obſerved.*

RICHARD, after this truce, intreated a marriage between the prince of Rotheſay, eldeſt ſon to King JAMES, and lady ANNE DE LA POOL, daughter to JOHN duke of Suffolk by his ſiſter. To this effect ambaſſadors meet at Nottingham, others ſay at York, and it is concluded

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ed. Writings thereupon being drawn up, ingroſſed and ſealed, and affiances made and taken up by proctors and deputies of both parties, lady ANNE thereafter was ſtiled the princeſs of Rotheſay. But by the death of her uncle ſhe enjoyed not long that title.

After the league and intended marriage, king JAMES wrote friendly letters to RICHARD concerning the caſtle of Dunbar, whether he could be content that the ſame ſhould remain only ſix months in the power of the Engliſh, or during the whole ſpace of the truce? That he was not minded to ſeek it by arms during the term of the whole truce. Notwithſtanding he earneſtly required it out of the bond of love and friendſhip between them; ſince it was given unto the Engliſh by treaſon, and neither ſurprized nor taken in lawful war, it might be friendly rendered. RICHARD dallied with him, and paſſed away that purpoſe with complementing letters all the time of his government, which was not long. For in the year 1486, HENRY earl of Richmond came with ſome companies out of France (of which that famous warrior BERNARD STUART lord AUBIGNY, brother to the lord DARNLEY in Scotland, had the leading) which by the reſort of his country-men turned into an army, and rencountered RICHARD at Boſworth, where he was killed, and HENRY proclaimed king of England: to which victory it was uncertain whether virtue or fortune did more contribute.

ALEXANDER duke of Albany, before this diſaſter of RICHARD, at a tilting with LOUIS duke of Orleans, by the ſplinter of a ſpear in his head had received his death-wound, 1483. He was a man of great courage, an enemy to reſt and peace, delighting in conſtant changes and novations. He left behind him two ſons, JOHN duke of Albany, begotten of his ſecond marriage upon the earl of BOULOGNE's daughter, who was tutor to king JAMES V. and governor of Scotland, and ALEXANDER born of the earl of Orkney's daughter his firſt wife, biſhop of Murray and abbot of Scoon: into which places he was intruded, to make the government of his other brother more peaceable.

MARGARET the queen about theſe times, a good and

and virtuous lady, died 1486. and was buried at Cambuskenneth, the 29th of February.

The overthrow and death of RICHARD being known abroad, king JAMES, taking the advantage of the time, beſieged the caſtle of Dunbar. The garriſoned ſoldiers finding no relief nor aſſiſtance from their country, and aſcertained of the change of their maſter, rendered up the fort into the hands of the Scots; it was of no great importance to the Engliſh, and only ſerved to be a fair bridge of treaſon for Scotiſh rebels, and a citadel of conſpiracies.

HENRY king of England, after his victory and coronation, ſent RICHARD FOX biſhop of Exeter, and Sir RICHARD EDGECOMB ambaſſadors to king JAMES, for the renewing the truce, and if it were poſſible, to agree upon a ſtable and laſting peace between the realms. King JAMES taking a promiſe of the ſecrecy of the ambaſſadors, that what he imparted to them, ſhould not be laid open to his nobility, told, "He earneſtly affected a peace with all his neighbours, but "above all others with their king, as much for his own "valour, as for the honour and intereſts of the two "kingdoms: but he knew his people ſo ſtubborn and "oppoſite to all his deſigns, that if they underſtood his "mind and reſolutions, they would endeavour to croſs "his intentions; wherefore publickly he could only "condeſcend to ſeven years truce, a long peace being "hardly obtained from men brought up in the free li"cence of war, who disdained to be reſtrained within "the narrow limits of laws. Notwithſtanding they "ſhould undertake for him to king HENRY, in the "word of a prince, that this truce, before the expiring "of it, ſhould be renewed, and with all ſolemnities a"gain confirmed.

The ambaſſadors, reſpecting his good-will towards their king, accepted the conditions. Thus was there a truce or peace covenanted and confirmed for ſeven years to come between the two realms.

After ſo many back-blows of fortune, and ſuch canvaſſing, the king, enjoying a peace with all his neighbours abroad, became exceeding religious; the miſeries of life drawing the mind to the contemplations of what

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ſhall be after it. During his reſidence at Edinburgh he was wont to come in proceſſion from the abby of Holy-rood-houſe to the churches in the high-town every Wedneſday and Friday. By which devotion he became beloved of his people: nothing more winning their hearts than the opinion they have of the ſanctity of a perſon. And that he did not this for the faſhion nor hypocritically, the application of his wit and power to the adminiſtration of ſtrict juſtice did prove: for he began to ſuppreſs the inſolencies of ſtrong oppreſſors, defend and maintain the rights of the poor, againſt tyrants and abuſers of their neighbours. He ſitteth himſelf in council daily, and diſpoſeth affairs of moſt weight in his own perſon.

In the month of October, following the peace with England, 1487, a parliament was called, in which many acts were made againſt oppreſſors: juſtices were appointed to paſs through the whole kingdom, and ſee malefactors deſervedly puniſhed. Acts were made, that no convention of friends ſhould be ſuffered for the accompanying and defence of criminal perſons: but that every one attainted ſhould appear at the moſt with ſix proctors; that if found guilty, they ſhould not be reſt from juſtice by ſtrong hand. Such of the nobility who feared and conſequently hated him, finding how he had acquired the love of his people by his piety in the obſervance of religion, and his ſeverity in executing juſtice, were driven unto new meditations. They began to ſuſpect he would one day free himſelf from theſe turbulent ſpirits who could not ſuffer him to enjoy a peace, nor reign. He had advanced at this time to offices of ſtate and places, men whoſe fortunes did wholly depend upon his ſafety and welfare: at which ſome noblemen, whoſe ambition was to be in public charge and of the council, pretending to that out of right, which was only due unto them by favour, did highly ſtorm, and look upon thoſe others with envious eyes. The king thus falling again into his old ſickneſs, they bethought them how to renew their old remedy. They were alſo jealous of the rememberance of the diſſervice they had done him, and that he would never forget old quarrels; they were prepared and ready to make a revolution of the

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ſtate, but had not yet found their center to begin motion, nor a ground for rebellion. All this while there was not matter enough for an inſurrection, nor to diſpoſe the people's hearts to a mutiny.

The king, delighted with his buildings of the caſtle of Stirling, and the amenity of the place, for he had raiſed there a fair and ſpacious hall, and founded a college for divine ſervice, which he named the chapel royal; and beginning to be poſſeſt and taken up with the religion of theſe times, endeavoured to endow this foundation with conſtant rents and ample revenues, and make this rock the choice ſanctuary of his devotions. The priority of Coldingham, then vacant and fallen in his hands, he annexed the ſame to his chapel royal, and procured an act of parliament that none of the lieges ſhould attempt to do contrary to this union and annexation, or to make any impetration thereof at the court of Rome under the pain of treaſon. The priors of this convent having been many years of the name of HUME, it was by the gentlemen of that name ſurmiſed, that they ſhould be intereſted, and wronged in their eſtates, by reaſon of the tithes, and other caſualties appertaining to this benefice, if a prior of any other ſirname were promoted to this place. The king being often petitioned and implored, that he ſhould not alter the accuſtomed form of the election of that prior, nor remove it from their name, nor ſuffer the revenues to be otherways beſtowed than they were wont to be of old; and he continuing in his reſolution of annexing them to the chapel; after long pauſing and deliberation amongſt themſelves, as men ſtirred up by the malecontents and a proud faction, fit for any the moſt dangerous enterprize, they proceed upon ſtronger grounds to overturn his intentions and divert his purpoſe. The lord HAILES, and others of the ſirname of HEPBURN, had been their conſtant friends, allies, and neighbours; with them they enter into a combination, that they ſhould mutually ſtand to the defence of one another, and not ſuffer any prior to be received for Coldingham, if he were not one of their two ſirnames. This covenant is firſt privately by ſome mean gentlemen ſworn, who after draw on their chiefs to be of the party. Of how ſmall beginnings

doth a great miſchief ariſe! The male-contented lords, knowing theſe two ſirnames to be numerous, active, and powerful in thoſe parts of the country where they remained, lay hold upon this overture, and beginning from their particulars, they make the cauſe to be general; they ſpread rumours abroad, "That the king was be-"come terrible and not to be truſted; notwithſtanding "all his proteſtations and outward demeanor, that he "yet meditated revenge, and had begun to invade and "ſhake the ancient privileges of the HUMES, more "out of ſpite and diſcontent againſt them for having "aſſiſted and followed the lords of the reformation of "the ſtate, than any intention of the increaſing the "rents of his new erected chapel. That ere long he "would be avenged upon all whom he either knew "were acceſſary, or ſuſpected to have been upon the "plot of Lawder bridge, or his commitment in the "caſtle of Edinburgh; that it was ſometime better to "commit a fault unpardonable, than venture under "the pardon; that the king had taken a reſolution to "live upon the people's contributions, and give his "own revenues to particular men. The faults of his "counſellors are highly exaggerated; they were baſe "perſons, and he himſelf given to diſſimulation, miſ-"devotion, and revenge; as occaſion ſerved he would "remember old wrongs: it was good to obey a king, "but not to lay the head upon a block to him, if a "man could ſave himſelf."

After a long ſmother of diſcontent and hatred of the nobility and people, rancour breaking daily forth into ſeditions and alterations; the lords HUME and HAILES being the ring leaders, many noblemen and gentlemen under feigned pretences, eſpecially the courſes of ſwift horſes, keep frequent meetings; where they renew their covenant agreed upon at Lawder church, the neceſſity of the times and the danger of the commonwealth requiring it, and gave their oaths, that at what time ſoever the king ſhould challenge them directly or indirectly, or wrong them in their rights, poſſeſſions, places, or perſons, they ſhould abide together as if they were all one body, eſpouſe each other's quarrels; and the wrongs

wrongs done to any one of them ſhould be done to them all.

When the king underſtood the confederacy of the lords, to anticipate the danger, he made choice of a guard for the preſervation of his perſon and ſervants, of which he made JOHN RAMSAY of Balmain, a man whom he had preſerved at Lawder, and advanced to be maſter of his houſhold at court, captain; giving him a warrant not to ſuffer any man in arms to approach the court by ſome miles. This, inſtead of cooling, exaſperated the choler of the malecontents, and ſtirred them to aſſemble with numerous retinues all in arms. The king ſcarce believing the minds of ſo many were corrupted, and perſuading himſelf the authority of the public name of a king would ſupply the want of ſome power, ſummoned certain of them upon forty days to anſwer according to law.

Of thoſe ſome rent his ſummonds, and beat ſhamefully his heralds and meſſengers for diſcharging their offices: others appeared, but with numbers of their adherents, friends, allies and vaſſals. And here he found, that the faults of great delinquents are not without great danger taken notice of, and reprehended: he uſed ſome ſtratagems to ſurprize the heads and chiefs of their faction; but unadviſedly giving truſt to the promiſes of thoſe who lent their ears, but not their hearts to his words, his deſigns were diſcovered before they produced any effect: his ſecrets all laid open to his great hatred and diſadvantage, the diſcoverers taking themſelves to the factious rebels, and cheriſhing unkind thoughts in all whom they ſaw diſtaſted with his government. Perceiving himſelf betrayed, and his intentions divulged, he remained in great doubt to whom he ſhould give credit. The nature and manner of all things changed by the league of the confederates, he thought it high time to remove a little further from that torrent which might have overwhelmed him, and made them maſters of his perſon. To temporize and win time, he cauſed furniſh the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, with proviſion of victual, ammunition, and garriſons to defend them from the dangers of war; he reſolved to make his abode beyond the river of Forth, and to leave the South

parts of the kingdom. After which deliberation, he entered a ſhip of Sir ANDREW WOOD (a famous navigator and ſtout commander at ſea) which pretended to make ſail for the low-countries, and was lying at anchor in the Forth. Theſe who ſaw him aboard ſpread a rumour that he was flying to Flanders. The lords of the inſurrection, making uſe of this falſe report, ſeized on his carriage in the paſſages towards the North, rifled his coffers, ſpoiled his ſervants of their ſtuff and baggage. And then after certainty that he was but landed in Fife, and from that was in progreſs to the Northern parts, preparing and directing his good ſubjects to be in readineſs to attend him at his return, they ſurprized the caſtle of Dunbar. The mony found in his coffers hire ſoldiers againſt him, and the harneſs and weapons of his magazines arm them. Having gathered ſome companies together, tumultuouſly they over-run the countries upon the South of the Forth, rifling and plundering all men who went not with them, or whom they ſuſpected not to favour their deſperate and ſeditious ends. In his progreſs the king held juſtice courts at Aberdeen and Inverneſs, where WILLIAM lord CREIGHTON, not long before forfeited with the duke of Albany, ſubmitted himſelf to his clemency, and was received into favour and pardoned: after which grace he ſhortly left this world. Whilſt the king in the North, the lords in the South are making their preparations; when they were aſſembled at Linlithgow, they find themſelves many in number and ſtrong in power, the ſucceſs of their proceedings being above their hopes. There only wanted a man eminently in eſteem with the people, and noble of birth, to give luſtre to their actions, ſhadow their rebellion, and be the titular and painted head of their arms. When they had long deliberated upon this great man, they aſſented all that there was none to be paralleled to the prince of Rotheſay, the king's own ſon. So ſtrongly providence befools all human wiſdom and foreſight! His keepers being corrupted by gifts, penſions, and promiſes of divers rewards, he is delivered into their hands; and by threats, that they would otherwiſe give up the kingdom to the king of England, he is conſtrained to go with them. To height-

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en the hatred againſt the king, and the choſelier to deceive the people (for the love of ſubjects is ſuch towards their natural kings, that except they be firſt deceived by ſome pretence and notable ſophiſm, they will not ariſe altogether in arms and rebel) they make proclamations, and by their deputies, by way of remonſtrances, ſpread abroad ſeditious papers, (in what a ſea of blood would theſe men launch into!) "That all true ſubjects "ſhould come in defence of the prince, and take arms; be- "cauſe his father's jealouſies and ſuperſtitious fears were "riſen to that height, that nothing but his ſon's death "or impriſonment could temperate them. That he "was raiſing an army to take his ſon out of their hands, "that he might do with him as he had done with his "own brothers; that force was the only means to work "his ſafety, and keep the plotters of this miſchief with- "in bounds. They alſo ſhould take arms to reduce "the government to a better form, for that the king- "dom was oppreſſed with inſupportable grievances; "the king being altogether given to follow the advice, "projects and counſels of baſe men; to amaſs and ga- "ther great ſums of mony from his people, upon which "he ſtudied to maintain his court and ſtate, and give "away his own."

When this engine was prepared for the people, and ſpread abroad, they ſent to the earl of Douglas, then cloſely as a monk ſhut up in the abbey of Lindores, to come out, be of the party, and aſſiſt them with his counſel and friends, promiſing, if their attempt had happy ſucceſs, to reſtore him again to his ancient poſſeſſions and heritage, former dignities, and the places of honour of his anceſtors. The earl, whom time and long experience had made wary and circumſpect, having a ſuſpicion, that the earl of Angus, who poſſeſſed the greateſt part of his eſtate, had been the chief motioner of this liberty, and that rather to try what he would do, than that he minded really to ſet him free, refuſed to come out of his cloiſter; and by his letters diſſuaded them from their bold enterprize againſt their prince; wiſhing they would ſet his houſe and himſelf for a pattern and preſident of rebellion. He ſent to all ſuch of his friends, whom his diſaſters had left unruined, to

take arms for the king, as the DOUGLASSES of Cavers and others.

The king neither loſing courage nor council, for the greatneſs of the danger of the rebellion, truſting much to his good fortune, with ſuch forces as came with him from the North, in captain WOOD's ſhips, and other boats and veſſels prepared to that end, paſſeth the Forth near Blackneſs, an old fortreſs and ſea-port in Weſt Lothian, not far from the caſtle of Abercorn, and that place where the forces of the earl of Douglas left him, and the king his father obtained ſo harmleſs a victory. Before the arrival of the king at this place, the earl of Glencairn, lords GRAHAM, MAXWELL and RUTHVEN, with others, advertiſed by letters of the rendevous, had come to the place, had encamped, and were attending him. And he muſtered a ſufficient army to rencounter the lords of the aſſociation, who from all quarters were aſſembled, having with them the prince to add authority to their quarrel. The two armies being in readineſs to decide their differences by a battle, the earl of Athole the king's uncle ſo travelled between the lords of either party and the king, that a ſuſpenſion of arms and reconcilement was agreed upon: and the earl of Athole rendered himſelf a pledge for the accompliſhing of the king's part of the reconcilement, to the lord HAILES, and was ſent to be kept in the caſtle of Dunbar.

This was not a ſmall fault of this prince: the confederate forces were not at this time equal to his, neither had they eſſayed to hinder the landing of his army, being but in gathering; the caſtle of Blackneſs was for his defence, and his ſhips traverſing up and down the Forth, in caſe of neceſſity, for ſuccour. That if he had hazarded a battle, he had been near to have recovered all that reputation he had before loſt. Now upon either ſide ſome common ſoldiers are disbanded, ſome gentlemen licenſed to return to their own dwelling-places. The king in a peaceable manner retireth to the caſtle of Edinburgh. The earl of Athole was now removed from him, and many of the other lords who loved him returned to their houſes; the counſel of man not being able to reſiſt the determinations of God. The lords

lords ſuſpecting ſtill the king to be implacable in their behalf, and unacceſſible in his caſtle, keeping the prince always with them, entering upon new meditations, hold ſundry meetings how to have his perſon in their power, and make him a prey to their ambitious deſigns. The town of Edinburgh is peſtered with troops of armed men, and the villages about repleniſhed with ſoldiers. The king warned of his danger, fortifies of new the caſtle of Edinburgh for his defence, and is brought to ſuch a tameneſs, that reſolving to do that with the love of every man, which he feared in end he ſhould be conſtrained unto, with the univerſal hatred of all, and his own damage and danger, out of a paſſive fortitude ſent commiſſioners, indifferent noblemen, to the lords and his ſon, to underſtand their intentions, and what they meant: "Why his ſon was kept from him, and continued the head of their faction? Why his uncle was "ſo cloſely impriſoned, and himſelf, as it were, blocked up by their tumultuous meetings in arms? He "was content they ſhould have an abolition of all that "was paſt, that their puniſhments ſhould not be infinitely extended, and that they ſhould think upon a "general agreement after the beſt and fitteſt manner "they could deviſe and ſet down." They, finding their offence flew higher than hopes of pardon could aſcend unto, their ſuſpicions, and the conſcience of their crime committed, breeding ſuch a diſtruſt out of an apprehenſion of fear, anſwered, "That they found no "true meaning. Open war was to be preferred to a "peace full of deceit, danger and fears; that being aſſured he would weave out his begun projects againſt "them, they could not think of any ſafety, nor have "aſſurance of their lives nor fortunes, unleſs he freely "reſigned the title of his crown and realm in favours "of his ſon, and voluntarily depoſed himſelf, leaving "the government of his people and kingdom to the "lords of his parliament, diveſting himſelf wholly of "his royal dignity. Neither would they come to any "ſubmiſſion or capitulation, until he conſented to this "main point, and granted it ſubmiſſively."

King JAMES, notwithſtanding of this anſwer, after a clear proſpect of the inconveniences and miſchiefs

which were growing, and the many injuries, indignities, and affronts put upon him, yet really affecting a peace, ſought unto HENRY king of England, as alſo to the pope, and king of France, to make an atonement between him and his ſubjects. The kings accordingly interpoſed their mediation in a round and princely manner, not only by way of requeſt and perſuaſion; but alſo by way of proteſtation and menace, declaring, "That they thought it to be the common cauſe of all "kings, if ſubjects ſhould be ſuffered to give laws unto "their ſovereign; a legitimate king, though a tyrant, "was not ſubordinate to the authority of ſubjects. JAMES "was not a tyrant, his errors proceeding moſt part "from youth and evil counſel; that, ſuppoſe the king "had done them wrong, it was not wiſely done, for a "deſire of revenge, to endanger their particular eſtates, "and the peace and ſtanding of the whole kingdom. "What ſtate was there ever ſo pure, but ſome corrup-"tion might creep into it? That they ſhould be very "cautious how they ſhook the frame of monarchical go-"vernment too far; that they would accordingly re-"ſent and revenge it." Rage prevailing againſt reaſon and fears, the lords made that ſame anſwer to theſe ambaſſadors which they had ſent to the king himſelf before. As for the pope's embaſſy, which, being ſent by ADRIAN DE CASTELLO an Italian legate, was coming, the the lords fearing the danger of it (for in thoſe times it might have drawn the moſt part of all the towns and the commons, for fear of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to have adhered to the king, or ſtood in an indifferency) made all poſſible haſte, before it ſhould have bee. delivered, to make head againſt their ſovereign, and decide their quarrel in a battle: URBAN IV. armed HENRY III. king of England againſt all thoſe that would not return to their due and old obedience to him, and againſt all his diſloyal ſubjects.

The king was in a ſtrong fort, and if he had remained ſtill there, matters in a little time had fallen forth more to his wiſhes, and his enemies might have been brought to a ſubmiſſion: for his good ſubjects of the North, as the FORBESSES, OGILBIES, the GRANTS, FRAZERS, MELDRUMS, many of the GORDONS, KEITHS,

KEITHS, and others, who adhered to him out of affection and duty, were advancing towards him. But whether miſinformed or betrayed by ſome of his own, who made him believe that unleſs he could command the country about Edinburgh, the caſtle was of no ſuch importance as was the caſtle of Stirling for him, in conſideration of the paſſage over the river of Forth at a bridge for thoſe who were coming to his aid: the lords of the aſſociation counterfeiting a retreat, and diſperſing themſelves in the country, that they might draw him from that hold, he raſhly and unadviſedly iſſued out of the caſtle, and left his beloved town of Edinburgh. The earl of Glencairn, lords GRAHAM, MAXWELL, and RUTHVEN, accompanied him to Blackneſs. His forces here encreaſing, he marched toward Stirling, the rendevous and deſtinated place of meeting for all his loyal ſubjects; there he diſplayed his royal ſtandard: here the perfidious conſtable, an unparalleled example of ingratitude, who had betrayed the ſon, in an hoſtile manner, kept the father out of his own caſtle, cannons mounted, piſtols cockt, and levelled at him, and expoſed him a prey to his rebels. In the amazement and deliberation what next to go about, being thus ſhut out of his caſtle, tidings came to him, that the confederates were come near to Falkirk, a little town ſix miles Eaſtward from Stirling. That his army ſhould not be diſcouraged by this unexpected accident, truſting to his right and preſent power, being more ſtout than prudent, he reſolveth to ſet all upon the hazard of a battle. The confederates had paſſed the Carron, a river under Falkirk, and were encamped above the bridge near the Torwood: The king ſet forward with his army upon the other ſide of the Torwood, near a ſmall brook named Sawchy-burn. This field is a plain not far diſtant from that of Bannock-burn, where king ROBERT BRUCE overthrew the great army of EDWARD of Caernarvan. Here both armies advance forward in battle array.

The lords ranged their hoſt in three ſquadrons; the van-guard was led by the lords HUME and HAILES, and their friends, conſiſting of Eaſt Lothian and Merſemen; the middle ward was compoſed of the Liddeſdale,

Annandale, Ewſdale, Teviotdale, Tweddale, and Galloway-men: the main battle was of Weſt Lothian-men, where moſt of the lords were, and amongſt whom the prince was kept. In the king's army, the earl of Monteith, lords ERSKINE, GRAHAM, RUTHVEN, and MAXWELL, commanded the van-guard. The left wing which conſiſted of Weſtland and Highlandmen, was committed to the earl of Glencairn. The lords BOYD and LINDSAY, and the earl of Crawfurd, commanded in the rear or great battle, amongſt whom was the king armed from head to foot upon a great courſer, eaſy to be known and diſcerned from the reſt. The firſt charge is valiantly given, and launce meeting with launce, the van-guard of the lords began to yield ground, and was ſtrongly repulſed. But the next charge being given by the Annandale-men and the rank riders of the borders, the middle ward of the king's army is beaten back to the main battle. Notwithſtanding which it is fought a-while with marvellous obſtinacy and great hardineſs and aſſurance, until the ſtandard royal was beaten down, and thoſe who had defended it were ſlain, the violence of the bickering being moſtly where it was planted. The king's army now beginning to bow, not being ſufficient to reſiſt the numbers of freſh aſſailers, the horſe men, obeying no direction, turned their backs. In this rout and confuſion of horſe and foot, the king, ſeeking to retire towards the river of Forth, where not far off ſome boats and the ſhips of Sir ANDREW WOOD attended the fortune of battle, by the fall of his horſe, in leaping a ditch, being ſore bruiſed, was carried by ſuch who knew him not to a mill at Bannock-burn. The day was now the confederates, and wrong had prevailed againſt right, when the prince of Rotheſay, amazed at the noiſe and clamours of the flying and following ſoldiers, and in ſuſpicion of the worſt, gave out expreſs and ſtrait commandment, with threatenings to the diſobeyers, that none ſhould preſume to purſue his father, nor others in the chaſe. Notwithſtanding which, he was followed and killed in a mill in cold blood. Theſe who followed him were the lord GREY, ROBERT STIRLING of Keir, and Sir ANDREW BORTHWICK a prieſt, whom fame

ſame reporteth, after ſhriving, to have ſtabbed him with a dagger.

The enſigns taken, the army diſſipated and put to flight, and the baggage rifled, the death of the king being rumored through the armies, the victors turned ſlow in the chaſe, and gave field-room to all that would fly, no ſeverity being uſed againſt any found unarmed; for the lords of the aſſociation purſued the king, not the people. The diſcomfited fled towards Stirling; the victorious retired to their camp, and the next morning to Linlithgow. On the king's ſide, ALEXANDER CUNINGHAM earl of Glencairn was ſlain, and, as ſome have recorded, the lords ERSKINE, SEMPLE, and RUTHVEN, JOHN RAMSAY of Balmain, created earl of Bothwel, and his chief favorite, with their friends and vaſſals; the laird of Innes, ALEXANDER SCOT director of the chancery, with ſome noblemens friends and vaſſals. Many were hurt, who recovered of their wounds: and this battle ſeemed rather a brave encounter and meeting of launces in ſome liſts, than a field of great deeds of arms; and the victory was obtained rather by diſorder, and the raſhneſs of the vanquiſhed, than by the valour of the victorious. This battle was fought the year 1488. the eleventh day of June, which is the feſtival of St. Barnabas, the 29th year of the reign, and 35th of the age of this king. He had iſſue JAMES IV. who ſucceeded, ALEXANDER arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, and JOHN earl of Mar. The conſpirators with all funeral rites and royal pomp, as in expiation of the wrongs they had done him living, near his queen in the abby church of Cambuſkenneth, buried his body.

This king, as to his perſonage, was of a ſtature ſomewhat higher than ordinary, well proportioned; his hair was black, his viſage was rather long than round, approaching in colour more to thoſe in the Southern than Northern climates. As to his conditions, he was a prince of an haughty and towering ſpirit, loved to govern alone, affecting an abſolute power and royal prerogative over his people. He knew that noblemen were of his predeceſſors making, as the coin, and why he might not put his ſtamp upon the ſame metal, or when

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theſe old medals were defaced, that he might not reſound them, and give them a new print, he thought no ſufficient reaſon could be given. His reign ſeemeth a theatre ſpread over with mourning, and ſtained with blood, where in a revolution many tragedies were acted. Neither were the neighbour kingdoms about in a calmer eſtate during his reign. France under LOUIS XI; England under HENRY VI. EDWARD IV. and RICHARD the uſurper; Flanders and Holland under CHARLES the warlike; ARNOLD duke of Guelders was impriſoned by his own ſon: As if the heavenly influences were ſometimes altogether ſet to produce upon this ball of the earth nothing but conſpiracies, treaſons and troubles, and for the wickedneſs of the inhabitants, to deprive them of all reſt and contentment.

This king is by the moſt condemned, as a raſh, imprudent, dangerous prince: good people make good kings. When a people run directly to oppoſe the authority of their ſovereign, and aſſume rebellion and arrogancy for obedience, reſiſting his faireſt motions and moſt profitable commandments; if a king be martial, in a ſhort time they are beaten and brought under; if he be politic, prudent and foreſeeing, in a longer time, as wild deer, they are ſurprized, and either brought back to their firſt order and condition, or thralled to greater miſeries. If he be weak and ſuffer in his reputation or ſtate or perſon by them, the prince who ſucceedeth is ordinarily the revenger of his wrongs. And all conſpiracies of ſubjects, if they proſper not in a high degree, advance the ſovereignty. This prince ſeemeth not to have been naturally evil inclined, but to have been conſtrained to leave his natural inclination, and neceſſitated to run upon precipices and dangers; his turbulent ſubjects never ſuffering him to have reſt. Many princes who in the beginning of their reigns have been admired for their fair actions, by the ingratitude of their ſubjects have turned from one extremity to another, and become their rebellious ſubjects executioners. He was provoked to do many things by the inſolence of private men: and what ſome call tyranny and fierceneſs in a prince, is but juſt ſeverity.

rity. He ſought to be feared, believing it to be the only way to obedience. It is true, injuries took ſuch deep impreſſions in his mind, that no after-ſervice could blot them away. The taking away of his favorites, made him ſtudy revenge, which if he had not done, he had had too much of the ſtoical virtues, little of the heroical.

Theſe who blame princes, under a pure and abſolute monarchy, for having favorites, would have them inhumane, baſe and contemptible, and would deprive them of power to confer favours, according to the diſtinguiſhing power of their underſtanding and conceptions. The choice a prince maketh of men whom he advanceth to great employments, is not ſubject to any man's cenſure. And were it bad, yet ought it to be paſſed over, if not approved; leſt the diſcretion and judgment of the prince be queſtioned, and his reputation wounded: favorites are ſhrines to ſhadow princes from their people. Why ſhould a people not allow a prince ſome to whom he may unmaſk himſelf, and diſcover the ſecrets of his heart? If his ſecrets ſhould be imparted to many, they would be no longer ſecrets. Why ſhould it be impoſed on a prince to love all his ſubjects alike, ſince he is not beloved of them all alike? This is a deſire to tyrannize over the affections of princes, whom men ſhould reverence.

He ſeemeth too much to have delighted in retiredneſs, and to have been a hater of buſineſs; and that he troubled not himſelf with any but for formality's ſake, more deſirous of quietneſs than honour. This was the fault of the governors of his youth, who put him off buſineſs of ſtate, that they might the more eaſily reach their own ends, and by making him their ſhadow, govern after their pleaſure, Of this delight in ſolitarineſs, his brothers took their advantage, and wan the people to their obſervance.

He was much given to buildings and triming up of chapels, halls and gardens, as uſually are the lovers of idleneſs; and the rareſt frames of churches and palaces in Scotland were moſtly raiſed about his time: an humour, which though it be allowable in men whio have

not

not not much to do, yet it is harmful in princes; as to be taken with admiration of watches, clocks, dials, automates, pictures and ſtatues. For the art of princes is to give laws, and govern their people with wiſdom in peace, and glory in war; to ſpare the humble, and proſtrate the proud.

He is blamed of avarice, yet there is no great matters recorded of it, ſave the encroaching upon the dealing, and taking the giving to whom he pleaſed of church benefices, which, if he had lived in our times, would have been held a virtue. He was of a credulous diſpoſition, and therefore eaſy to be abuſed, which hath moved ſome to record, he was given to divination, and to inquire of future accidents; which, if it be credible, was the fault of thoſe times. EDWARD IV. of England is ſaid to have had that ſame fault, and that by the miſinterpretation of a prophecy of a necromancer, which foretold that one, the firſt letter of whoſe name was G, ſhould uſurp the kingdom, and diſpoſſeſs the children of king EDWARD, he took away his brother GEORGE duke of Clarence; which being really practiſed in England, ſome Scotiſh writers (that a king of Scotland ſhould not be inferior in wickedneſs to any of his neighbour princes) without grounds have recorded the ſame to have been done by this king. His love was great to learned men, he uſed as counſellors in his important affairs JOHN IRELAND a doctor of divinity, and one of the Sorbon in Paris, made arch-deacon of St. Andrews, Mr. ROBERT BLACKADER, whom he promoted to be biſhop of Glaſgow, Mr. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON, whom of an official or commiſſary of Lothian, he ſurrogated in the place of Mr. ROBERT BLACKADER, and made biſhop of Aberdeen; and his faults either in religion or policy may be attributed to theſe and his other counſellors.

Many have thought that the fatal chariot of his precipice was, that he had equally offended kindred, clergy, nobility, and people. But ſuppoſe this had been true, why ſhould ſuch an horrible miſchief have been deviſed, as to arm his own ſon againſt him? And that neither the fear of divine juſtice, nor the reſpect

of

of infamy with the preſent or after-times, nor the danger of the example, had power to divert the minds of men from ſuch a cruel deſign! This was really to ſeethe the kid in the mother's milk, and to make an innocent youth obnoxious to the moſt hainous crime that could be committed. Whatever curtains could beſpread to overſhadow and cover this miſchief, the horror of this fact poſſeſſed this prince to his laſt hour, and God out of his juſtice executed the revenge of this cruelty upon the nobles, commons, and the prince himſelf, at the field of Flowden; where ſome of the chief actors of this parricide were in their own perſons, others in the perſons of their ſucceſſors, ſacrificed to the ghoſt of this king.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF JAMES IV.

THE lords who had choſen rather to be reputed famous rebels than contemned ſubjects, by their boldneſs of enterprizing, ſkill of managing the public affairs, and continued purchaſes, ſwelling to that greatneſs of power, that they found none to counterpoiſe, few to oppoſe their deſigns; to make their rebellion lawful, and ſhow the world they intended not the ſubverſion of their country, but of their opinionative king, nor that they did diſlike ſovereignty, ſo they might have a prince who would be ruled by their directions, take the name, and leave to them the majeſty and authority of his place; after the killing of the father, call a parliament for the inſtalling of the ſon in the royal throne. Few of the three eſtates here meeting, except themſelves, and the commiſſioners of buroughs, in the month of June, the year 1488, at Edinburgh the prince is crowned, then having not attained the ſix-

teenth

teenth year of his age. Though theſe men had aſſumed the government, yet in divers parts of the country, they had but doubtful obedience, nor was their authority univerſally acknowleged, the flames of diſſenſion ſeeming yet neither to be extinguiſhed, nor altogether ſmothered with the life of the late king. On the ſea, Sir ANDREW WOOD, who had attended the event of the laſt battle, maintained reſolutely the quarrel of his dead maſter. Five tall ſhips ſent by the king of England to his confederate's aid, but which came too late, pretending a revenge upon his diſloyal ſubjects, pillaged the maritime towns, and forraged the adjacent parts of the country, ſhut up the mouth of the river of Forth, and interrupted the commerce of merchants. To repel which violence, the ſhips gathered by the lords ſtruggled in vain, being every way inferior and weak to ſuppreſs their incurſions and algarads. On the land, the forces of thoſe who had ſtood out for the late king, had rather been by the laſt conflict ſcattered, than throughly broken and brought under. The ableſt and moſt convenient companies which were gathered to his aſſiſtance, having never aſſembled and joined in one body, the fight being inconſiderably precipitated, and the dye thrown before they could deſcend from the far mountains, and croſs the fordleſs rivers: and of thoſe who were in the fray not many being taken priſoners, and fewer killed, falling under the weight of friendly arms.

The prime men of thoſe who had choſen rather juſtly to follow the king, than profitably his rebels, finding themſelves for their loyalty, and that good-will which they had carried to their ſovereign, perſecuted and proſcribed in their fortunes and perſons, inflamed with indignation and ſhame, reſolve to oppoſe wiſdom to fortune, courage to ſtrength, and to hazard ſome one day more for the repairing the loſſes of former. The pillage begun upon the ſeas by the Engliſh animating them; and being deſirous to make as many fellows of their danger as they could, they ſend letters through all the quarters of the kingdom to their friends, familiars and confederates, encouraging them to ply the buſineſs generouſly, oppoſing their valour and courage to the ſtrength and

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power of the abuſers of the prince. By public writings they caſt aſperſions on the preſent government. After that battle of Stirling, and ſince the coronation of the king, they had not fallen in the power and mercy of a monarch, but under an oligarchy, the moſt depraved form of all governments; the name and title of a king, a young man ſcarce ſixteen years of age enjoyed, but he governed not, but was by the killers of his father miſgoverned, who under falſe pretences intended the ruin of the ſtate. "What reproach and ſhame would it be, "not only with all men now living, but alſo with po- "ſterity, to ſuffer theſe who had hazarded what they "had deareſt for the honour and preſervation of their "prince, to be branded with the name of traitors, be "baniſhed and followed to death; whilſt the tranſgreſ- "ſors and abuſers of all laws, divine and human, ſit "judges over them, as revengers of general wrongs, "uſurping the titles of deliverers of the country, and "reſtorers of the commonwealth, amongſt whoſe paws "the preſent king could not be aſſured and ſafe; they "being the men, who, to juſtify their injuſtice, and "make their fact meritorious, brought him in arms, "not knowing whither, againſt his king and father, "moſt woſully taken away: beſides the abuſing of his "name and authority in every civil matter. The late "king had loſt the day and himſelf by his own errors, "not by their power and deſigns. Now they ſhould op- "poſe their proceedings: and though they might be "eſteemed inferior in number to them; yet, if they met "together, they might be found equal to them in worth "and courage, being puft up by the laſt misfortune, "and only putting their confidence in that they obtain- "ed their deſigns."

Much being projected and deſigned for their meeting in arms, in the North ALEXANDER lord FORBES, a man born neither to reſt himſelf, nor ſuffer others, in Aberdeen and other towns, on the point of a launce diſplayed the ſhirt of the ſlaughtered king purpled with his blood, inviting the country, as by an herald, to the revenge of his murther. In the Weſt the earl of Lenox, a man eminent by his birth and fortune hath the ſame reſolution; the earl Mariſhal, lords GORDON and LYLE,

LYLE, with their confederates in other parts of the kingdom, where their power or eloquence could prevail, move all their engines to advance the enterprize, and put every thing in readineſs.

The lords of the inſurrection having the young king in their hands to countenance their proceedings, joining diſcretion to their good ſucceſs, determine, except upon neceſſity, not to ſpill more civil blood. And to diſperſe the clouds of that appearing ſtorm, they encourage Sir ANDREW WOOD, now received in favour, and brought not only to be no enemy, but to be their friend and fellow-helper (having obtained from them the barony of Largow, diſpoſed to him hereditarly, of which before he had only a leaſe of the late king for his firſt ſervice) with his ſhips to clear the Forth, and ſcour the ſeas of the Engliſh. And they launch out to his aſſiſtance the veſſels and boats of the havens near adjacent. At that ſame time JOHN lord DRUMMOND ſteward of Strathern, a nobleman, couragious and adventurous, is directed to wait upon the earl of Lenox, ſtop his ravaging and waſting the country, and keep him back from joining with his confederates of the North, and inſeſting the more civil parts; being the greateſt, ableſt and neareſt man of that faction. The earl had raiſed many High-land and Weſt-land men, recorded to be two thouſand; but when he could not paſs the river of Forth at the bridge of Stirling, the lords having inveſted the town, he eſſayeth to paſs among the fens and mariſhes at a ford not far from the head of the river, where other his confederates had appointed to meet him. Whilſt he is encamped at Tilly-moſs, far from all appearance of ſuſpicion of danger, the lord DRUMMOND, by the advertiſement of ALEXANDER MACKEALP (who had taken arms with the earl only to find out his ways) in the night invadeth his camp, the centinels and theſe of the foremoſt guard ſeized upon, or killed, or driven back. They in the neareſt cabines, amazed with the ſudden miſchief, riſe to arm themſelves and think of fight; but finding the danger to be on all ſides, and through the whole camp, neither ſeeing before them, nor hearing any directions given them, for the great noiſe of the invaders, it being impoſſible to put themſelves

ſelves in array, confuſedly each overthrowing another, take themſelves to a hopeleſs and diſordered flight. Sleep here to ſome is continued in death, many diſburdening themſelves of their arms, ſeek ſanctuary amongſt the winding paths of theſe mariſhes. Others are taken, but by their acquaintance and friends ſuffered after to eſcape. Revenge is only followed againſt ſuch who in malice had enterprized any thing againſt the preſent government, and perſevered in their attempts.

This defeat of the earl of Lenox by the lord DRUMMOND, is ſeconded with the rumour of a ſea-victory obtained by Sir ANDREW WOOD againſt STEPHEN BULL, a man excelling in maritime affairs, who had come upon the Scotiſh ſeas to revenge the quarrel of his maſter's ſhips not long before taken and ſpoiled by Sir ANDREW. They had met near the iſland of the May at the mouth of the river of Forth, and ranging themſelves for fight, had been two days by the waves and winds carried along the coaſt of Fiſe, driven at laſt amongſt the mounts of ſand where the Tay loſeth his name in the ſea; the Engliſh ſhips taller, and of a greater burthen than the Scotiſh, by ignorance or negligence of their mariners embanked, and ſtuck moored upon the ſhelves; and being forced by neceſſity to render, were brought as prizes to Dundee. The rumour of theſe victories ſpread abroad, ſo amazed the companies raiſed in the North by the lord FORBES, and other his confederates, that they changing their opinions with the event of the actions, gave over further proſecution or deſire of war, and every man retired to his own home. After which, by indifferent friends, having ſought a reconciliation (it being more expedient to take them in by policy than by force) they were eaſily received into favour: amongſt which was the earl of Lenox and the lord FORBES.

The governours; to ingratiate themſelves more with the people, by calming the preſent troubles, and uniting the divided members of the commonwealth, that every man might have a public aſſurance for the freedom of his perſon and private eſtate and fortune, call a parliament, and it is held at Edinburgh in February. Having

ing the law in their own hands, that the inſurrection might be thought juſt, here it was adjudged, that thoſe who were ſlain in the field of Stirling had fallen by their own deſervings, and juſtly ſuffered the puniſhment of their raſhneſs; that the victors were innocently guiltleſs of the blood there ſhed, and fairly acquitted of any purſuit: the three eſtates teſtifying the ſame by their ſubſcriptions and ſignets.

It was ordained, "That they who came againſt the "preſent king in aid of his father, ſhould take remiſ-"ſions or pardons, and ſo many of them as were in "hereditary offices, as wardens, juſtices, ſheriffs, ſtew-"ards, baillies, lieutenants, or in other public charges, "ſhould be ſuſpended from them for the ſpace of three "years; that ſuch who had offices for term of life, "ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed and denuded of them altoge-"ther."

All which, though done under a colour of puniſhment, was only to inveſt places, and to turn ſome of themſelves rich by their ſpoils. The puniſhment of mean men challenged of theſe garboils, is either made little or paſſed over. All donations howſoever made by patent from the king or by parliaments in prejudice of the crown, beginning from the month of September before, till the day of his deceaſe, are repelled and annihilated. All honours, beſtowed on ſuch as the late king ſought to oblige unto him, were recalled. The earl of Crawfurd was diveſted of his title of being duke of Montroſe, as the L. of Balmain was of his, of being earl of Bothwel. Ambaſſadors are directed to the emperor, pope, kings of France and Denmark, and other princes, to renew the leagues, ancient confederacies and alliances, as in times paſt had been the cuſtom of the kings of Scotland to their neighbour princes, but eſpecially to take away the blame of their king's ſlaughter from the governors, and manifeſt to all the world the candor of their minds, and juſtice of their proceedings. For that ſome few Engliſh ſhips had ſhut up the narrow ſeas of Scotland, and interrupted the commerce of merchants, pillaging the coaſts, order was eſtabliſhed for building many ſhips, and that every ſea-port ſhould be ſtored with them, as well to maintain traffic abroad with

with ſtrangers, as for fiſhing, and to be walls to the country at home. In a matter ſo important, and near concerning the well and ſtanding of the ſtate, the barons were ordained to ſhare and bear a part with the merchants and buroughs. And in ſo fair a project, to encourage his people, the king himſelf was content firſt to begin and to build ſhips for his own and the public ſervice of the kingdom. This being one of the greateſt miſeries of the late king, that he ſuffered himſelf to be miſgoverned by, as they termed them, worthleſs men; ſome prelates and noblemen, eminent in learning and virtue, are ſelected, who ſhould ſtill be reſident with the king, and of his council, without the advice, conſent and decree of ſix of which, if any matter of importance were proceeded on and concluded, they ſhould be void and null: governors are appointed to bring up his brothers.

Now is every thing ordered to the beſt, juſtice is executed on oppreſſors and robbers, and in the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, the king himſelf in perſon ſeeth it adminiſtered. He is of ſo contrary a temper to the humour of his predeceſſors, that he granted freely to every man, what could be demanded in reaſon. To give a teſtimony to the world of the agony of his mind, for the death of his father, and what remorſe and anguiſh he ſuffered for the faults of thoſe who brought him to the field againſt him, he girded himſelf with a chain of iron, to which every third year of his life thereafter he added ſome rings and weight. Though this might have proved terrible to the accomplices of the crime; yet either out of conſcience of his gentle diſpoſition and mild nature, and confidence in his generoſity, or of the truſt they had in their own power and faction, they bewrayed no ſigns of fear, nor attempted ought againſt the common peace and tranquillity. Some records bear, that they forewarned him by the example of his father not to take any violent courſe againſt them, or which might irritate the people againſt him; and in every thing to embrace their counſels: and that finding him repining and ſtubborn, beyond mediocrity, giving himſelf over to ſorrow and penſiveneſs, they threatened him with a coronation of one of his brothers, telling him,

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it was in their power to make any of the race of his predeceſſors their king, if he were headſtrong and refractory to oppoſe their wholſome directions and grave counſels.

Amidſt this grief of the king and overweening of his ſupercilious governors, ANDREW FORMAN, ſecretary to ALEXANDER VI. biſhop of Rome, arrived in Scotland, with inſtructions for the clergy, and letters from his maſter to the king and the nobles.

The king's were full of ordinary conſolations to aſſuage his paſſions, and reduce his mind to a more calm temper for the accident of his father's death.

" The moſt glorious victory a prince could acquire, " was ſometimes to overcome himſelf and triumph over " his diſordered paſſions. In all perturbations, to " which we are ſubject, we ſhould endeavour to practiſe " that precept, *nothing too much;* but chiefly in our " paſſions of ſorrow and wrath: which, not being re- " ſtrained, overwhelm the greateſt and moſt generous " minds; that by paſſion, the feweſt actions, and by rea- " ſon the moſt do proſper.

" Though a king, he muſt not imagine himſelf ex- " empted from things caſual to all mankind, eſpecially " in ſeditions and civil tumults: from which no king- " dom nor ſtate hath been free. There being no city " which hath not ſometimes wicked citizens, and al- " ways and ever an headſtrong and mad multitude; he " ſhould take what had befalen him from the hand of " his maker, who chaſtiſeth thoſe he loveth. What " comes from heaven he ſhould bear neceſſarily, what " proceedeth from men couragiouſly; there was no man " ſo ſafe, excellent and tranſcendent, who by an inſo- " lent nobility and ravaging populace might not be " compelled to perpetrate many things againſt his " heart and intentions.

" The will being both the beginning and ſubject of " all ſin, and the conſenting to and allowing the action " being the only and main point to be conſidered and " looked into, of which he was free, the ſin committed " was not his, nor could the puniſhment which by the " divine juſtice might follow belong unto him.

" Since he had done nothing of himſelf, but as a " bound man had been carried away by mutinous ſub- jects;

jects; these that lead transgress, not always they " that follow. To these men remorse and torture of " conscience belonged; it was they should lament and " mourn, who under false pretences had abused the " people, masked their ambition and malice with a re- " formation of errors in the state, whose rage could not " be quenched but by the blood of their sovereign. It " was these should bewail their injustice and cruelty, " the sin, shame and judgment, for so hainous a fact, " followed these men: he should not impute the wrongs " and wickedness of others, by which he had been a " sufferer with his disastered father, to himself. Re- " venge belonged to the almighty, to whose tribunal he " should submit his quarrel. He should not decree the " worst against his mutinous subjects, nor turn them " desperate, as if there were no place to repent. Great " offences, perpetrated by great persons and a multi- " tude, ordinarily were seldom punished in a state. " That it was profitable for a prince sometime to put " up voluntarily an injury. The way to be invin- " cible, was never to contend; and to stand out of " danger was the benefit of peace. That he should ap- " ply soft medicine where it was dangerous to use vio- " lent; that following his maker, he should endeavour " to draw good out of evil.

" As he was for that disaster of his father pitied by " men upon earth, so assuredly he would be pardoned " in heaven. If his subjects returned to their crooked " bias, and did revolt again, he would make the danger " his own, use his ecclesiastical censures and spiritual " power against them, till they become obedient and " submitted themselves to the sway of his sceptre."

In the letters to the nobles, he exhorted them to obedience.

" Ambition was the cause of sedition, which had no " limits, and was the bane and wrack of states and king- " doms, of which they should beware. Kingdoms sub- " sisted upon the reputation of a prince, and that re- " spect his subjects carried towards him. He was the " eye and sun of justice; the prince weakened or tak- " en away, or his authority contemned, the common- " wealth would not only fall into a decadence, but suf-

" ſer an earthquake, and periſh; either after by foreign-
" ners be invaded, or by inteſtine diſſenſions rent aſun-
" der. Confuſions followed, where obedience ceaſed
" and left. Contempt depoſed kings as well as death,
" and kings are no longer kings when their ſubjects re-
" fuſe to obey them.

" That good people make good kings, which he re-
" queſted them to endeavour to be, as they would an-
" ſwer to God, whoſe lieutenants princes were, and by
" whoſe power they ruled."

After this time, the lord EVANDALE being dead, the earl of Angus was made chancellor, and the lord HUME obtained the place of great chamberlain of Scotland; the country enjoyed a great calm of peace, the grounds of diſſenſion ſeeming to be taken away.

The king in the ſtrength and vigour of his youth, remembering that to live in idleneſs was to live to be contemned by the world, by change of objects to expel his preſent ſadneſs, and to enable himſelf for wars when they ſhould burſt forth, gave himſelf to recreations by games, and with a decent pomp entertained all knightly exerciſes, keeping an open and magnificent court. When time and exerciſe had enabled him, and he thought he had attained to ſome perfection in martial ſports, tilting and barriers are proclaimed; rewards propounded and promiſed to the victors; challenges are ſent abroad unto ſtrangers, either to be umpires or actors of feats of arms.

CHARLES VIII. the French king, having an ambition to re-annex the dutchy of French Bretaign to the crown of France, either by arms, or the marriage of ANNE the apparent heir; under the pretext and ſhadow of thoſe painted juſtings, ſendeth to Scotland ſome of the braveſt gentlemen of his court, deſiring privily the aſſiſtance of king JAMES againſt the Engliſh, if it ſhould fall forth that the king of England troubled his deſigns.

Not long after, well and honourably accompanied, arriveth in Scotland a young man naming himſelf RICHARD duke of York, ſon to EDWARD IV, true inheritor of the crown of England, divers neighbour princes

princes teſtifying the ſame by their letters, which contained,

"That EDWARD, the eldeſt ſon of EDWARD IV, "who ſucceeded his father in the crown, by the name "of EDWARD V. was murdered by RICHARD duke "of Gloceſter their unnatural uncle; but RICHARD "the younger ſon his brother, by the man who was "employed to execute that tragedy (making report to "the tyrant that he had performed his command for "both brethren) was ſaved, and with ſpeed and ſecre-"cy convoyed to Tournay, there concealed and "brought up by his father's ſiſter MARGARET duch-"eſs of Burgundy; that king JAMES ſhould acknow-"lege this for truth, and friendly aſſiſt this young man, "who was that very RICHARD duke of York, to re-"cover his inheritance, now moſt unjuſtly uſurped "and poſſeſſed by HENRY TUDOR earl of Richmond. "That the right of kings extended not only to the ſafe "preſervation of their own, but alſo to the aid of all "ſuch allies, as change of time and ſtate hath often "hurled down from crowns to undergo an exerciſe of "ſuffering in both fortunes: and kings ſhould repoſſeſs "kings wrongfully put from their own; as his predeceſ-"ſors, to whoſe royal virtues he was heir, had repoſſeſſed "HENRY VI. king of England, ſpoiled of his king-"dom and diſtreſſed; by which charity obliging all vir-"tuous princes unto him, he ſhould find ever as his "own, MAXIMILIAN of Bohemia, CHARLES of "France, and MARGARET ducheſs dowager of Bur-"gundy."

King JAMES graciouſly received this young man, and told him, "That whatſoever he were, he ſhould "not repent him of putting himſelf into his hands:" and from that time forth, though many gave informations againſt him as a counterfeit, he entertained him every way as a prince, embraced his quarrel, and ſhutting both his own eyes, and the eyes of the world, he gave conſent that this duke ſhould take to wife lady KATHARINE GORDON daughter to the earl of Huntley, which ſome thought he did to increaſe the faction of PERKIN, for that was the true name of this impoſtor, in England,

ſtir up the diſcontented ſubjects againſt king HENRY, and to encourage his own ſubjects to ſide in his quarrel.

Not long after in perſon, with this duke of York in his company, who aſſured him of powerful aſſiſtance, he entered with an army into Northumberland, but not one man coming to ſide with them, the king turned his enterprize into an inroad, and after he had ſpoiled the country returned into Scotland. It is ſaid, that PERKIN acting the part of a prince handſomely, when he ſaw the Scots pillaging and waſting the country, came to the king, and in a deploring manner requeſted him to ſpare his afflicted people; that no crown was ſo dear to his mind, as that he deſired to purchaſe it with the blood and ruin of his people. Whereunto king JAMES anſwered, he was ridiculouſly careful of an intereſt another man poſſeſſed, and which perhaps was none of his. The king of England, who delighted more to draw treaſure from his people than to hazard the ſpilling of their blood, to revenge the predatory war of the Scots, and find out PERKIN, requireth a ſubſidy of his ſubjects; and though few believed he would follow ſo far a flying hart, he was levying a puiſſant army.

No ſooner this ſubſidy began to be collected amongſt the Corniſh men, when they began to grudge and murmur, and afterwards rebelled; which when it was underſtood by the king, he retained the forces raiſed, for his own ſervice and uſe. In the mean time diſpatching the earl of Surrey to the North to attend the Scots incurſions, whilſt the Corniſh men are in their march towards London, king JAMES again entered the frontiers of England with an atmy, and beſieged the caſtle of Norham in perſon; but underſtanding the earl of Surrey was advancing with greater forces, loaden with ſpoil, he returned back again; the earl of Surrey finding no enemy, ſat down before the caſtle of Ayton, which he took, and ſoon after returned into England; the cold ſeaſon of the year, with the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather, driving away time, invited a treaty of peace on both ſides.

Amidſt theſe turmoils and unprofitable incurſions of the two kingdoms, FERDINANDO and ISABELLA of Spain

Spain ſent one PETER HIALAS to treat a marriage between KATHARINE, one of their daughters, and ARTHUR prince of Wales. This alliance being agreed upon, and almoſt brought to perfection, king HENRY, (deſirous of quietneſs, and to have an end of all debates, eſpecially theſe with Scotland) communicateth his intentions to HIALAS, a man wiſe and learned, and whom he thought able to be employed in ſuch a ſervice: for it ſtood not with his reputation to ſue unto his enemy for peace. But HIALAS, a ſtranger unto both, as having direction from his maſter for the peace of chriſtian and neighbour princes, might take upon him this reconciliation.

HIALAS accepteth the embaſſy, and coming to king JAMES, after he had brought him to hearken to more ſafe and quiet counſels, wrote unto king HENRY, "That he hoped, that peace might eaſily be concluded, "if he would ſend ſome wiſe and temperate counſellor "of his own, that might treat of the conditions."

Whereupon the king directeth the biſhop of Durham, RICHARD FOX, who at that time was at his caſtle of Norham, to confer with HIALAS, and they both to treat with ſome commiſſioners deputed from king JAMES. The commiſſioners of both ſides meet at Jedburgh, and diſpute many articles and conditions of peace. Reſtitution of the ſpoils taken by the Scots, or damages for the ſame, is deſired: but that was paſſed as a matter impoſſible to be performed. An interview in perſon at Newcaſtle is deſired of both kings: which being referred to king JAMES his own arbitrement, he is reported to have anſwered, that he meant to treat a peace, and not go a begging for it.

The breaking of the peace for PERKIN WARBECK is highly aggravated by the biſhop, and he is demanded to be delivered to the king of England; "That a prince "ſhould not eaſily believe with the common people. "That PERKIN was a fiction, and ſuch an one, that "if a poet had projected the figure, it could not have "been done more to admiration, than the houſe of "York by the old ducheſs of Burgundy, ſiſter to ED-"WARD IV, had contrived theirs, having firſt raiſed

" LAMBERT SIMNEL, and at laſt this PERKIN, to " perſonate kings, and ſeduce the people. His birth, " education, and not reſiding in any one place, proved " him a pageant king; that he was a reproach to all " kings, and a perſon not protected by the law of na- " tions."

The biſhop of Glaſgow anſwered for his maſter, " That " the love and amity, grounded upon a common cauſe " and univerſal concluſion amongſt kings to defend one " another, was the main foundation upon which king " JAMES had adventured to aſſiſt RICHARD duke of " York. That he was no competent judge of his title; " he had received him as a ſupplicant, protected him " as a perſon fled for refuge, eſpouſed him with his " kinſwoman, and aided him with arms upon the be- " lief that he was a prince; that the people of Ireland, " Wales, and many in England, acknowleged him no " leſs than their king, whether he were ſo or not; ſince " for a prince he had hitherto defended him, he could " not leave him upon the relation of his moſt terrible " enemy and the preſent poſſeſſor of his crown. That " no prince was bound to render a ſubject to another " who had come to him for ſanctuary, much leſs a " prince who had recourſe unto him for aid and ſup- " ply, and was now allyed with the ancient blood of " the country.

Much being ſaid, at laſt they conclude upon a truce for ſome months following.

After this treaty of peace the counterfeit duke of York, with his lady and ſuch followers as would not leave him, ſailed over into Ireland.

This truce, happily concluded and continued, by a trifling and untoward accident went near to have been given up and broken.

There were certain Scotiſh young men came into Norham town, and having little to do went ſometimes forth, and would ſtand looking upon the caſtle. Some of the garriſon of the caſtle obſerving them, and having not their minds purged of the late ill humour of hoſtility, either ſuſpected them, or quarrelled with them as ſpies, whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, ſo that many were wounded on either ſide,

and

and the Scots, being ſtrangers in the town, had the worſt; inſomuch that ſome of them were ſlain, and the reſt made haſte home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the wardens of the marches of both ſides; and no good order taken, king JAMES took it to himſelf, and ſent MARCHMONT herald to the king of England to make proteſtation, "That if "reparation were not done according to the conditi- "ons of the truce, his king did denounce war." The king of England (who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to peace) made anſwer, "That what had "been done was utterly againſt his will, and without "his privity; but if the garriſon ſoldiers had been in "the fault, he would ſee them puniſhed, and the truce "in all points preſerved." This anſwer pleaſed not king JAMES. Biſhop FOX underſtanding his diſcontent, being troubled that the occaſion of breaking the truce ſhould grow from his men, ſent many humble and deprecatory letters to the king of Scotland to appeaſe him. Whereupon king JAMES, mollified by the biſhop's ſubmiſs and diſcreet letters, wrote back again unto him, "That though he were in part moved by "his letters, yet he ſhould not be fully ſatisfied ex- "cept he ſpake with himſelf, as well about the com- "pounding of the preſent differences, as about other "matters, that might concern the good of both king- "doms." The biſhop adviſing firſt with his maſter, took his journey to Scotland: the meeting was at the abby of Melroſs, where the king then abode. The king firſt roundly uttered unto the biſhop his offence conceived for the breach of the truce by his men at Norham caſtle; after ſpeaking with him apart, he told him, "That theſe temporary truces and peace were "ſoon made and ſoon broken: but that he deſired a "ſtraiter amity with the king of England," diſcovering his mind, "That if the king would give him in "marriage the lady MARGARET his eldeſt daughter, "that indeed might be a knot indiſſoluble; that he "knew well what place and power the biſhop deſerved- "ly had with his maſter; therefore if he would take the "buſineſs to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubt- "ed not but it would well ſucceed."

The biſhop anſwered ſoberly, "That he thought him-"ſelf rather happy than worthy, to be an inſtrument "in ſuch a matter, but would do his beſt endeavour." Wherefore the biſhop of Durham returning from Scotland to his king at London, and giving account what had paſſed, and finding his king more than well diſpoſed in it, gave the king firſt advice to proceed to a concluſion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, to continue for both the kings lives, and to the ſurviver of them one year after. In this peace there was an article contained, "That no Engliſhman ſhould "enter into Scotland, nor no Scotſman into England, "without letters commendatory from the king of either "nation."

During this treaty of the marriage, it is reported that the king of England referred this matter to his council, and that ſome of the table, in freedom of counſellors, the king being preſent, had put the caſe, "That "iſſues males and females failing of the race of his two "ſons, that then the kingdom of England will fall to "the king of Scotland, which might prejudice the mon-"archy of England." Whereunto the king himſelf replyed, "That if any ſuch event ſhould be, Scotland "would be but an acceſſion to England, and not Eng-"land to Scotland; for that the greater would draw "the leſſer, and that it was a ſafer union for England "than that of France."

Shortly after, the eſpouſals of JAMES king of Scotland with lady MARGARET the king of England's eldeſt daughter followed; which were done by proxy in all ſolemn manner. The aſſurance and contract was publiſhed at Paul's croſs the 25th of January at London: in applauſe of which, hymns were publicly ſung in the churches, and bonfires, with great feaſting and banqueting, ſet throughout all the city.

JULIUS II. in the beginning of this treaty did gratify king JAMES with a ſword and diadem wrought with flowers of gold (which the popes on Chriſtmaſs even uſed to conſecrate, a cuſtom firſt brought in by SIXTUS QUARTUS) which were preſented to him at Holy-rood-houſe. The marriage was in Auguſt following conſum-

conſummated at Edinburgh, king HENRY bringing his daughter as far as Colliveſton on the way; where his mother the counteſs of Richmond abode; and then reſigning her to the attendance of the earl of Northumberland, who with a great train of lords and ladies of honour, brought her into Scotland to the king her husband. Solemn days were kept at court for banqueting, maſks and revelling, barriers and tilting proclaimed. Challenges were given out in the name of the ſavage knight, who was the king himſelf, and rewards deſigned to the victors. Old king ARTHUR, with his knights of the round-table were here brought upon the liſts. The fame of this marriage had drawn many foreign gentlemen to the court. Amongſt others came monſieur DARCY, naming himſelf LE SIEUR DE LA BEAUTE, who tried barriers with the lord HAMILTON, after they had tilted with grinding ſpears. Some of the ſavage knight's company, who were robuſt highland men, he giving way unto them, ſmarted really in theſe feigned conflicts, with targets and two-handed ſwords to the muſic of their bag-pipes, fighting as in a true battle, to the admiration of the Engliſh and French, who had never ſeen men ſo ambitious of wounds and prodigal of blood in ſport. All were magnificently entertained by the king, and with honourable largeſſes and rewards of their valour, licenſed to return home.

During the treaty of this marriage with England, a monſter of a new and ſtrange ſhape was born in Scotland near the city of Glaſgow; the body of which under the waſte or middle varied nothing from the common ſhape and proportion of the bodies of other men, the members above both for uſe and comelineſs being two, their faces looking one way; ſitting they ſeemed two men to ſuch who ſaw not the parts beneath, and ſtanding it could not be diſcerned to which of the two bulks above, the thighs and legs did appertain. They had differing paſſions, and diverſe wills, often chiding others for diſorder in their behaviour and actions: after much deliberation, embracing that unto which they both conſented. By the king's direction they were carefully brought up and inſtructed in muſic and foreign languages. This monſter lived twenty and eight

years, and died when JOHN duke of Albany governed. CLAUD GRUGET maketh mention of the like monſter born in Paris before the marriage of HENRY IV. the French king with MARGARET of Valois, but the birth and death of it were near together.

The king, by his great liberality unto ſtrangers abroad, and his laviſh ſpending at home (for religious places were founded, caſtles repaired, and ſhips built, eſpecially three of an extraordinary greatneſs) finding himſelf needy of treaſure to ſupport the daily expences at court, engaged to many, and ſunk deep in debt; and that he could not levy ſubſidies, except by the ſuffrages of his parliament, by whoſe power they were impoſed and rated, ſetteth the moſt learned counſellors at law, and men experienced in foreign policy, to find out new means and ways to acquire and gather him mony by laws already made and ordained, which was in effect to poll the people by executing the rigour of juſtice, the fortunes of wiſe men ariſing often on the expences of fools, after the example of king HENRY VII. of England, his father-in-law, who taking the advantage of the breach of his penal ſtatutes, gave power to Sir RICHARD EMPSON and EDMOND DUDLEY, by informers and promoters, to oppreſs and ruin the eſtates of many of his beſt ſubjects, whom king HENRY VIII. to ſatisfy his wronged people, after his deceaſe cauſed execute. Old cuſtoms are by theſe men pried into, and forgotten obſolete ſtatutes quickened.

Amongſt the titles of poſſeſſing of lands in Scotland there is one, which in proceſs of time, of an ungodly cuſtom, grew ſtrong, and is kept for a law, being fetched by imitation from the laws of the neighbouring ſtates; "That if the poſſeſſor of lands die and leave a minor to "ſucceed to him, his tutelage belongeth to the king, "and the profit of the lands until the minor be of the "age of one and twenty years." This is of thoſe lands which are termed wards. The king cauſeth bring up his wards, but beſtoweth no more of their rents upon them than is uſeful to ſuch of that age. Another law they have, not any thing better than this, which they call recognition. "That if the evidences of any poſſeſſor "of ward-lands be not in all points formal, and above

"excep-

" exceptions of law, the lands, the poſſeſſors put from " them, ſhall return to the lord ſuperior:" and like to this, " That if a poſſeſſor of ward-lands, without the " conſent of the ſuperior, ſell and put away the half or " above the half of his land and farm, the whole land " and farm returneth to the ſuperior or lord Para- " mount." They have lands held with clauſes, which they call irritant, " That if two terms of a few-duty run " unpaid into the third, the land falleth unto the ſupe- " rior." When thoſe laws, and other like them by reaſon of the neighbour incurſions and troubles with England, and the civil broils at home, had been long out of uſe amongſt the ſubjects, and the execution of them, as it were, in a manner forgot, theſe projectors and new toll-maſters, the king giving way to enrich his exchequer, awakened them. Many of the ſubjects by theſe inquiries were obnoxious to the king and ſmarted, but chiefly the moſt honeſt, who were conſtrained either to buy their own lands and inheritances from the exchequer, or quit and freely give ſome portion of them to thoſe caterpillars of the ſtate. The king was ſo dearly beloved of his people, that in the height of thoſe grievances (which reached near the exorbitant avarice of his father) none refuſed or made difficulty to give all that the laws ordained. The king ſeeing their willingneſs to perform, and knowing their great diſability thereunto, out of his ſingular grace and goodneſs remitteth not only the rigour, but even the equity almoſt of his laws, inſomuch that thereafter none of his ſubjects were damnified in their perſons or eſtates by his proceedings; which gained him the hearts of all: and to put away all ſuſpicions and jealouſies from their minds (an ordinary practice amongſt princes, acts that fill princes coffers ever being the ruin of their firſt projectors) of any wrong intended, he ſuffered the promoters and projectors of this polling, with others of the moſt active, to be thrown into priſons, where ſome miſerably ended their days.

The year 1507. JAMES prince of Scotland and iſles was born at Holy-rood-houſe, the 21ſt of January: The queen in her throwes of birth, being brought near the laſt agony of death, the king, overcome with affecti-

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on and religious vows, taketh a pilgrimage for her recovery on foot to St. Ninian's in Galloway; a place in thoſe credulous times famous for the burial of St. Ninian the apoſtle of the Britains, and notorious by the many proceſſions and viſits of the neighbour countrys of Ireland and England. At his return he findeth his queen recovered. The child after died at Stirling with the biſhop of Galloway, who was appointed to attend him. The year following the queen brought forth another ſon, named ARTHUR, at Holy-rood-houſe; but he died alſo in the caſtle of Edinburgh: and HENRY VII, his grandfather accompanied him to the other world. King JAMES, to the corronation of the young king his brother-in-law, ſendeth ambaſſadors.

After the death of his two ſons, and his father-in-law, as if he had been warned from above to think upon his own mortality (whether he had a reſolute intention ſo to do, or that for reaſons known to himſelf, he would have it ſo appear) he giveth out, that out of remorſe for bearing arms in the field where his father was ſlain, he had a reſolution to leave his kingdom, and viſit the holy ſepulchre. Then to prepare his way, ROBERT BLACKADER abbot of Dunfermline, is directed; but the abbot in his journey is arreſted by death, and the king findeth other hinderances to keep him at home.

Amidſt theſe deliberations, his queen is delivered in the palace of Linlithgow of her third ſon, in the month of April 1512. who ſucceeded to the crown, and was named JAMES.

About this ſame time BERNARD STUART, that famous warrior under CHARLES VIII. of France, who commanded the French in Boſworth-field, came to Scotland followed by ANDREW FORMAN then arch-biſhop of Bourges, and biſhop of Murray, with ALEXANDER STUART the king's natural ſon, after promoted to be arch-biſhop of St. Andrews. The cauſe which was given out to the rumours of the people of their coming, was, that the French king, having no male children, craved the advice and counſel of the king of Scotland his confederate, concerning the marriage of his eldeſt daughter; whether he ſhould beſtow her upon FRANCIS of Valois, the dauphine and duke

of

of Angoleſm, or upon CHARLES king of Caſtile, who had preſented her with many tokens of affection, and by his ambaſſadors earneſtly ſought her from her brother. But their great errand was to divide the king from his brother-in-law king HENRY, and make him aſſiſt LOUIS; theſe two potentates intending a war againſt other.

ANNE daughter of FRANCIS duke of Bretaign, after the death of her ſiſter ISABELLA, remained ſole heir of that duchy, her wardſhip falling to the French king CHARLES VIII. He terrified ſo her ſubjects, guided her kindred, and the principal perſons about her, that making void the pretended marriage of MAXIMILIAN king of the Romans, which was by proxy, ſhe was married unto him; notwithſtanding he had the daughter of MAXIMILIAN at his court, with great expectation of a marriage to be celebrated with her. After the death of king CHARLES, LOUIS XII. having married JEAN the ſiſter of CHARLES and daughter to LOUIS XI, by his many favours beſtowed upon pope ALEXANDER VI, and his ſon CESAR BORGIA, obtaineth a brieve of divorce againſt her, by the power of which (her weakneſs for the bearing of children, the neceſſary upholders of a crown, by his phyſicians being proved) he had married ANNE of Bretaign, for he would not loſe ſo fair a dowry for the bluſtering rumour of malecontents, which in a little time would grow ſtale and vaniſh. Pope ALEXANDER being dead, JULIUS II, a turbulent, unquiet, but magnificent prelate, and a ſtout defender of the church patrimony, being ſuſpicious of the power of the French in Italy, and that they would not reſt content with the kingdom of Naples and duchy of Milan, but one day hazard for all; fearing alſo they would, becauſe they might, put him out of his chair, and ſubſtitute in his room their cardinal of Amboiſe, or ſome other of their own, began to ſtudy novations and means to ſend the French back to their own country, his ordinary diſcourſe being that he would one day make Italy free from Barbarians. He requireth king LOUIS to give over the protection of the duke of Ferrara, and of ANNIBAL BENTIVOGLIO, whom he had thruſt out of Bullogne. The king refuſing to forſake his confederates,

federates, the pope betaketh himself to his spiritual arms, and threateneth with excommunication the duke and all who came to his aid and support, especially the French. They decline his sentence, and appeal to a true and lawful general council, with which they threaten him. HENRY VIII. then in the fervour of his youth, amidst a great treasure left by his father, and by more than ordinary bands of love and friendship tied to the pope, (as having dispensed with the marrying his brother's widow) interposeth himself as an indifferent mediator and intercessor for peace between the two parties, but in effect was the chief maintainer of the quarrel, effecting nothing, because he would not. Conditions being refused by king HENRY, he essayeth to draw the French arms from the pope's territories by cutting them work nearer home, and bringing a necessity upon them to defend their own. Upon this determination, he requireth king LOUIS to restore and render to him his duchies GUYENNE and NORMANDY, with his ancient inheritance of Anjou and Main, and the other old possessions of the English in France, which wrongfully had been detained and kept from him and his ancestors. The war of Italy by these threatenings was not left off: for the pope coming to Bullogne, with intention to invade Ferrara, is besieged with his cardinals, and he sendeth declarations to the christian princes, protesting the French not only thirsted after the patrimony and inheritance of St. PETER, but even after christian blood. Mean while he absolveth the subjects of king LOUIS from their oath of allegiance, abandoneth his kingdom to any can possess it; at a council at Lateran he dispatcheth a bull, wherein the title of *most christian king* is transferred upon king HENRY of England, who to his former titles of France, having now the approbation of the pope, and the kingdom interdicted, prepareth an expedition in person. After which, with five thousand barded horses, forty thousand foot, coming into Picardy, he encampeth before Therovenne, a town upon the marches of Picardy. Here the emperor MAXIMILIAN, resenting yet his old injury, entereth into the king of England's pay, and weareth the cross of

St.

St. GEORGE: but ſo long as he ſtayed in the army, it was governed according to his counſel and direction.

King JAMES before his meeting with BERNARD STUART and biſhop FORMAN, was fully purpoſed to prove an indifferent beholder of this war: but BERNARD having corrupted the courtiers, and the biſhop the chief churchmen of the kingdom, after their long and earneſt interceſſion he was drawn altogether to affect and adhere to the French.

To throw the apple of diſſenſion, biſhop FORMAN is ſent to king HENRY to demand certain jewels by their father's will, or her brother prince ARTHUR's, appertaining to queen MARGARET his ſiſter.

King HENRY, miſtruſting that embaſſy, offereth all and more than they demand from him. Shortly after the Engliſh beginning to interrupt the traffic of the French by ſea, king JAMES will ſend his ſhips, lately well manned and equipped for fight, which not long before had been prepared, as was given out, to tranſport the king into Syria, to his couſin queen ANNE, ſuppoſing this gift would rather ſeem a pledge of friendſhip and alliance, to the Engliſh, than any ſupply of war. But JAMES earl of Arran having got the command of them, inſtead of ſailing towards France, arriveth in Ireland, whether by tempeſt of weather, or that he would diſturb the king's proceedings in aſſiſting the French, inſtigated and corrupted by king HENRY, is uncertain: and after he had ſpoiled Knock-Fergus a maritime village, returneth with them to the town of Air.

The king taking in an evil part the invaſion of Ireland, but more the lingering of the earl, for he had received letters from queen ANNE and biſhop FORMAN, regreting the long and vain expectation of his ſhips, giveth the earl of Angus, and Sir ANDREW WOOD, a commiſſion for both him and them. The earl of Arran by his friends at court, underſtanding his maſter's diſpleaſure, ere they could find him, hoiſeth up ſails, and commiteth himſelf rather to the uncertain fortune of the ſeas than the juſt wrath of a king. After great tempeſt arriving in French Bretaign, theſe ſhips built at ſuch extraordinary charges, the ſails and cordage being

ing

being taken from them, rotted and conſumed by weather, in the haven of Breſt.

Now matters grew more exaſperate between the brother kings; ROBERT CAR warden of the borders is killed by three Engliſh, HERON, LILBURN, STARHED. ANDREW BARTON, who, upon an old quarrel begun in the reign of king JAMES III, had purchaſed letters of repriſal againſt the Portugueſe, by THOMAS HOWARD the Engliſh admiral is ſlain, and his ſhips taken. To this laſt grievance, when it was expoſtulated, king HENRY is ſaid to have anſwered, *That truce amongſt princes was never broken for taking or killing of pirates.*

ALEXANDER lord HUME warden of the eaſt marches, in revenge of accumulated injuries, with three thouſand men invaded the Engliſh borders, burneth ſome villages, and forageth the fields about. But having divided his forces, and ſent a part of them loaden with ſpoils towards Scotland, he falleth into an ambuſh of the Engliſh: where Sir WILLIAM BULMURE with a thouſand archers put him to flight, and took his brother GEORGE. During theſe border incurſions, the lord DACRES and doctor WEST came as in an embaſſy from England, not ſo much for eſtabliſhing a peace, and ſettling thoſe tumults, begun by the meeting of commiſſioners, who aſſembled and concluded nothing, as to give their maſter certain and true intelligence of the proceedings of the Scots with the French, and what they attempted.

Monſieur DE LA MOTTE was come with letters from the French king to ſtir up king JAMES to take arms againſt the Engliſh, and had in his voyage drowned three Engliſh ſhips, bringing ſeven with him as prizes to the harbour of Leith. ROBERT BARTON in revenge of ANDREW BARTON's death, at that ſame time returned with thirteen veſſels all prizes. King LOUIS had ſent a great ſhip loaden with artillery, powder and wines; in which Mr. JAMES OGILBY abbot of Dryburgh arrived, with earneſt requeſt for the renewing of the ancient league between France and Scotland, and letters from queen ANNE for the invaſion of England. In which ſhe regreted he had not one friend nor

main-

maintainer of his honour at the court of France (after the late delay of the ſending his ſhips) except herſelf and her ladies: that her requeſt was, he would for her ſake, whom he had honoured with the name of his miſtreſs in his martial ſports in time of peace, march but one mile upon the Engliſh bounds, now in the time of an appearing war againſt her lord and country.

The king thinking himſelf already engaged and intereſted in his fame, drawn away by the promiſes, eloquence, and other perſuaſions of the French, aſſembleth the three eſtates of his kingdom to deliberate about a war with England. Many oppoſe it, but in vain; for at laſt for fear of the king's diſpleaſure, it is concluded, uncertain whether by a worſe counſel or event. But before any hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, they determine and decree, that king HENRY ſhall by an herald be fairly advertiſed and deſired to deſiſt from any further invaſion of the territories of the French king, or duke of Guelders, who was general of the French army, the king of Scotland's confederates and kinſmen: which not being yielded unto, the war as lawful and juſt ſhall be denounced.

HENRY VIII. then beſieging Therovenne, anſwered the herald who delivered his commiſſion: "That he "heard nothing from him, but what he had expected "from a king, a deſpiſer of God's and man's law; as "for himſelf, he would not give over a war ſo happily "begun for any threats. Neither did he care much for "that man's friendſhip, of whoſe inconſtancy he had ſo "often had experience, nor for the power of his king-"dom and ambitious poverty."

After this anſwer of the king of England, a declaration by the king of Scotland was publiſhed almoſt to this ſenſe.

"Though princes ſhould direct their actions more to "conſcience than fame, and are not bound to give an "account of them to any, but to God alone, and when "armies are prepared for battle, they look not ſo much "to what may be ſaid, as to what ought to be done; "the victors being ever thought to have had reaſon "upon their ſide, and the juſteſt cauſe: yet to manifeſt "our ſincerity, and the uprightneſs of our proceedings,

"as

" as well to theſe preſent times, as to poſterity, who may " hereafter enquire after our deportments, that all may " take a full view of our intentions and courſes, we " have been moved to lay down the juſtneſs and equity " of our arms before the tribunal of the world.

" The laws of nations and of nature, which are " grounded upon that reaſon by which man is diſtin- " guiſhed from other creatures, oblige every one to de- " fend himſelf: and to ſeek means for one's own pre- " ſervation is a thing unblamable: but the laws of ſo- " vereignty lay greater obligations upon us, and above " all men monarchs, and they to whom God hath giv- " en the government of ſtates and kingdoms, are not " only bound to maintain and defend their own king- " doms, eſtates, and perſons, but to relieve from un- " juſt oppreſſion, ſo far as is in their power, being re- " quired, their friends, neighbours and confederates, " and not to ſuffer the weak to be overthrown by the " ſtronger. The many innovations and troubles raiſ- " ed upon all ſides about us, the wrongs our ſubjects " have ſuffered, by the inſolencies and arrogancy of " the counſellors of HENRY king of England our bro- " ther-in-law, are not only known to our neighbour, " but blazed amongſt remoteſt countries. Roads and " incurſions been have made upon our borders; ſundry " of our lieges have been taken, and, as in a juſt war, " made priſoners; the warden of our marches, under " aſſurance, hath been miſerably killed; our merchants " at ſea invaded, ſpoiled of their goods, liberties, and " lives: above others, the chief captains of our ſhips " put to death, and all by the king's own commiſſion. " upon which breaches between the two kingdoms, diſ- " orders and manifeſt wrongs committed upon our ſub- " jects, when by our ambaſſadors, we had divers times " required ſatisfaction and reparation, we received no " juſtice or anſwer worthy of him or us; our com- " plaints being rejected, and we diſdainfully contemned: " that longer to ſuffer ſuch inſolences, and not by juſt " force to reſiſt unjuſt violence, and by dangers to ſeek " a remedy againſt greater or more imminent dangers: " not to ſtand to the defence of our lieges, and take " upon us their protection, were to be deficient to our

" honour

" honour and reputation, and to invite others to of-
" fer the like affronts and injuries to us hereafter.

" Beſides theſe breaches of duty, outrages, and wrongs
" done unto us, his brother HENRY king of England,
" without any juſt cauſe, or violence offered to him or
" any of his by the king of France, hath levied a migh-
" ty army againſt him, invaded his territories, uſing
" all hoſtility; continuing to aſſault and force his towns,
" make his ſubjects priſoners, kill and ranſom them,
" impoſe ſubſidies, and raiſe mony from the quieter
" ſort, which wrongs, damage and injuſtice, we cannot
" but repute done to us, in reſpect of our earneſt
" interceſſions unto him, and many requeſts rejected,
" and that ancient league between the two kingdoms of
" France and Scotland, in which theſe two nations are
" obliged reſpectively, and mutually bound, to aſſiſt o-
" thers againſt all invaders whatſoever; that the enemy
" of the one ſhall be the enemy of the other, and the
" friends of the one the friends of the other. As all
" motions tend unto reſt, the end of a juſt war being
" peace, that our brother (who hath no ſuch enemy as
" the too great riches and abundance in which he ſwim-
" eth) may entertain peace with his brother princes,
" and moderate that boundleſs ambition, which maketh
" him uſurp dominion over his equals; we have been
" compelled to take us to defenſive arms; for our bro-
" ther hath now declared himſelf, and vaunteth that he
" is ſole judge and umpire of the peace of Europe, and
" that from his will, the differences of ſucceſſions and
" titles of principalities, wrongs and other intereſts de-
" pend, as that all ſhould be obſequious to his authori-
" ty; and what particular authority can be more in-
" tolerable, than that he ſhould hinder ſo great and juſt
" a prince as the king of France to claim his own, and
" defend his ſubjects?

" If our brother the king of England by the ſupply
" and aſſiſtance of many neighbour countries, now by
" the provocation of the biſhop of Rome, ariſing upon
" all ſides againſt the French, ſhould extend his power
" and victory over France, under what colour and pre-
" tence of juſtice ſoever, to what an extremity ſhall the
" kingdom of Scotland be reduced, having ſo powerful

" and

" and ambitious a neighbour? Fear of any neighbour " prince's greatneſs, when it extendeth itſelf over adja- " cent territories, is a good cauſe of defence and taking " of arms, which cannot be but juſt, ſince moſt ne- " ceſſary.

" We are not ignorant, that here will be objected a- " gainſt us, the breach of a league contracted between " our brother and us: we have not broken that league; " but for great cauſes and reaſons ſeparated ourſelves " from it, our brother having taken away the means, " occaſions and reaſons of obſerving it. In all leagues, " confederations, alliances and promiſes amongſt prin- " ces, the laſt confederation is ever underſtood to be " contracted without prejudice to the rights of any for- " mer alliances: and when our ambaſſadors made that " league with our brother, it was to be underſtood that " it ſhould hold no longer, nor we longer be bound un- " to it, than he ſhould keep to our firſt allies and anci- " ent confederates, not breaking their peace, nor trou- " bling the government and eſtates of their countries. " A national league is ever to be preferred to any per- " ſonal, an ancient to a new; the leagues between the " kingdoms of France and Scotland having continued " many ages, ſhould juſtly be preferred to that which " we, as a new ally of the houſe of England, did con- " tract, which yet we are moſt willing to keep: but the " love of our country, paſſing all private reſpects, hath " moved us to ſeparate ourſelves for a time from it.

" All leagues, confederations, alliances, and promiſ- " es amongſt princes, are reſpectively and mutually " underſtood with this condition and law, providing " both keep upon either ſide; the one party breaking " or departing from the league, alliance or promiſe, " the other is no longer bound to keep nor adhere un- " to it. So long as the king of England kept unto us, " we kept unto him: he having now many ways brok- " en unto us, we are no longer obliged to keep un- " to him: that ſame oath which obliged and tied us, " after his breach, abſolving and making us free; and " of this we divers times advertiſed him, giving him " aſſurance, except we would betray that truſt and con- " fidence our ſubjects and confederates had in us, for

" the

" the maintainance of their peace and ſafety, we could " not but aſſiſt them in their juſt cauſe (howſoever the " juſteſt actions have not ever the moſt profitable e- " vents) and be conſtrained to have a recourſe to arms " for a remedy of their preſent miſery.

" And now notwithſtanding of our advanced expedi- " tion, and preparations for war, that the world may " judge rightly of our intentions, we declare and ma- " niſeſt, that if our brother ſhall leave off the invaſion " of our confederates, uſe no more hoſtility againſt " them, and give ſatisfaction for the wrongs done unto " our ſubjects, that we ſhall disband our forces, and " are content that all matters of difference, as well be- " tween the king of France and our brother, as our " brother and us, be amicably judged, decided and " taken away: as that not only a truce and ceſſation " of their miſery for a time, but a perfect and laſting " peace be concluded and eſtabliſhed, to the full con- " tentment, and laſting happineſs of the three kingdoms " and our poſterity."

Whilſt the king ſtayed at Linlithgow, attending the gathering of his army, now ready to ſet forward, and full of cares and perplexity, in the church of St. MICHAEL heard even-ſong, as then it was called, while he was at his devotion, an ancient man came in, his amber-coloured locks hanging down upon his ſhoulders, his fore-head high and inclining to baldneſs, his garment of azure colour, ſomewhat long, girded about him with a towel or table-napkin, of a comely and reverend aſpect. Having enquired for the king, he intruded himſelf into the croud, paſſing throw till he came to him, with a clowniſh ſimplicity, leaning over the canon's ſeat where the king ſate, Sir, ſaid he, " I am ſent " hither to intreat you for this time to delay your ex- " pedition, and to proceed no farther in your intended " journey: for if you do, ye ſhall not proſper in your " enterprize, nor any of your followers. I am farther " charged to warn you, if you be ſo refractory as to go " forwards, not to uſe the acquaintance, company or " counſel of women, as ye tender your honour, life " and eſtate."

After

After this warning he withdrew himſelf back again into the croud. When ſervice was ended, the king enquired earneſtly for him, but he could no where be found, neither could any of the by-ſtanders (of whom diverſe did narrowly obſerve him, meaning afterwards to have diſcourſed further with him) feel or perceive how, when or where, he paſſed from them, having, as it were, vaniſhed among their hands.

After this army had muſtered in the Borrow-moor of Edinburgh (a field then ſpacious and delightful by the ſhades of many ſtately and aged oaks) about the midſt of the night there is a proclamation heard at the mercat croſs of the town, "Summoning a great many "burgeſſes, gentlemen, barons and noblemen, to ap-"pear within forty days before the tribunal of one "PLOTCOCK:" the provoſt of the town in his timber gallery having heard his own name cited, cried out, "That he declined that judicatory, and appealed to "the mercy of God almighty."

Nothing was the king moved with thoſe advertiſements, thinking them ſcenic pieces, acted by thoſe who hated the French, and favoured the Engliſh faction: being ſo boldly and to the life perſonated, that they appaled and ſtruck with fear ordinary and vulgar judgments, as tragi-comedies of ſpirits. The earl of Angus diſuaded him from that expedition, and many of the moſt reverend church-men; but the angel which moſt conjured him, was MARGARET his queen, who at that time was with child; her tears and prayers ſhook the ſtrongeſt beams of his reſolutions. She had acquainted him with the viſions and affrightments of her ſleep; that her chains and armlets appeared to be turned into pearls; ſhe had ſeen him fall from a great precipice; ſhe had loſt one of her eyes. When he had anſwered, "Theſe were but dreams, ariſing from the many "thoughts and cares of the day. But it is no dream, "ſaid ſhe, that ye have but one ſon, and him a weak-"ling; if otherwiſe than well happen unto you, what "a lamentable day will that be, when ye ſhall leave "behind you, to ſo tender and weak a ſucceſſor, un-"der the government of a woman, for inheritance, a "miſerable and bloody war? It is no dream that ye are

"to

" to fight a mighty people; now turned inſolent by " their riches at home and power abroad: that your " nobility are indigent ye know, and may be bribed to " leave you in your greateſt danger: what a folly, " what a blindneſs is it to make this war yours, and to " quench the fire in your neighbour's houſe of France, " to kindle and burn up your own in Scotland? Ye have " no ſuch reaſon to aſſiſt the French, as ye have to keep " your promiſes to England, and enjoy a peace at home. " Though the Engliſh ſhould make a conqueſt of France, " will they take your crown, or diſinherit their own " race, this is even as the left hand would cut off the " right? Should the letters of the queen of France, (a " woman twice married, the firſt half in adultery, the " laſt almoſt inceſt, whom ye did never, nor ſhall ever " ſee) prove more powerful with you, than the cries of " your little ſon, and mine; than the tears, complaints, " and curſes of the orphans and widows which ye are " to make? If ye will go, ſuffer me to accompany you; " it may be my country-men prove more kind towards " me than they will to you; and for my ſake yield un- " to a peace. I hear the queen my ſiſter will be with the " army in her husband's abſence; if we ſhall meet, " who knows what God by our means may bring to " paſs?"

The king anſwered all her complaints with a ſpeedy march, which he made over the Tweed; not ſtaying till the whole forces came to him, which were ariſing and prepared.

The twenty two of Auguſt coming into England, he encamped near the water of Twiſel in Northumberland, where at Twiſel-haugh he made an act, " That if any " man were ſlain or hurt to death by the Engliſh, dur- " ing the time of his abode in England, his heirs " ſhould have his ward, relief, and marriage." Norham, Wark, Ford, Eatel, are taken and caſt down. Amidſt this hoſtility, the lady FORD, a noble captive, was brought in a pity-pleading manner, with her daughter, a maid of excellent beauty, to the camp. Not without the earl of Surrey's direction, as many ſuppoſed, for they have a vigorous prince, and his ſon (though natural, by the gifts of nature and education

above

above many lawful) to try the magic of their eloquence and beauty upon. The king delighting in their company, not only hearkeneth to the diſcourſe of the mother, but giveth way to her counſel: which was, if ſhe ſhould be diſmiſſed, to ſend him true and certain intelligence of what the Engliſh would attempt, by taking her away to their camp: but in effect proved the winning of time to the earl of Surrey, and the loſing of occaſion to him. Her few days ſtay bred in him a kind of careleſſneſs, ſloth, procraſtination and delay, a neglect, and as it were a forgetfulneſs, of his army and buſineſs. Eighteen days tarrying in England, in a territory not very fertile, had conſumed much proviſion, the ſoldiers began to want neceſſaries, and a number in the night by blind paths returned to their own country: in a ſhort time, only the noblemen, and their vaſſals attending the king. Theſe requeſt him not to ſpend more time on that barren ſoil, but to turn their forces againſt Berwick, which town was of more importance, than all the hamlets and poor villages of Northumberland: neither was it impregnable or difficult to be taken, the town and caſtle being no ways provided and furniſhed to endure a ſiege. The courteous move the king to continue the beleaguring of Berwick till their coming back; which would be an eaſy conqueſt, Northumberland once foraged, in abſence of the braveſt of the Engliſh then in France.

Whilſt the army languiſhed, and the king ſpent time at Ford, the earl of Surrey directeth an herald to his camp, requiring him either to leave off the invaſion of his maſter's country, and turn back, giving ſatisfaction for wrongs commited; or that he would appoint a day and place, wherein all differences might be ended by the ſword. This challenge being adviſed in council, moſt voices were; "That they ſhould return home, "and not with ſo ſmall a number, as remained, en- "danger the ſtate of the whole kingdom, enough be- "ing already atchieved for fame, and too much for "their friendſhip with France: why ſhould a few ſol- "diers, and theſe already tired out by forcing of "ſtrengths and throwing down caſtles, be hazarded a- "gainſt ſuch multitudes of the Engliſh ſupplied lately "and encreaſed with freſh auxiliaries? THOMAS HOW-

" HOWARD admiral, a ſon of the earl of Surrey, hav-
" ing newly brought with him to Newcaſtle out of the
" army lying in France, five thouſand choſen men, and
" one thouſand tall ſeamen. If they ſhould return home,
" the Engliſh army could not but disband, and not
" conveniently this year be gathered again, conſiſting
" of men levied from far and diſtant places. Again, if
" they ſhould be engaged to come to a battle; their
" own country, being fields to them well known, would
" prove more commodious and ſecure to fight upon,
" than Engliſh ground, beſides the opportunity of fur-
" niſhing and providing the camp with all neceſſaries at
" leſs charges." The French ambaſſador and others of his faction remonſtrate to the king, " What a ſhame-
" ful retreat he would make, if at the deſire of the ene-
" my he returned, and without the hazard of a battle,
" being ſo near unto him; that by fighting in England,
" he kept his own country unforraged; and conſumed
" the proviſion of his enemy, which at laſt would weak-
" en his forces: that for contentment to both armies,
" ISLAY a Scotiſh herald ſhould return with ROUGE-
" CROSS the Engliſh, and condeſcend upon a day,
" promiſing them in the mean time tarrying and abode,
" till the righteouſneſs of the cauſe were decided in a
" battle."

The ſet and appointed day by the heralds, in which the two armies ſhould have joined, being come, and the Engliſh not appearing, nor any from them, the nobility again reſort to the king and ſhow, " How, by the
" ſlight of the enemy, matters were prolonged and de-
" layed from one day to another: the Engliſh forces
" daily encreaſing, whilſt the Scotiſh wear away, and
" waxed fewer; that ſlight ſhould be oppoſed to ſlight;
" the day deſigned by the heralds not being kept, it
" would be no reproach to them to turn home without
" battle, or, if retiring, to fight upon their own ground.
" If this counſel pleaſed him not, but that he would there
" give them battle, the next was to ſtudy all advan-
" tages for victory, either by ſtratagem, or the odds
" and furtherance of the place of fight; where the Che-
" viot hills decline towards the plainer fields ariſing
" behind them with high tops, with beſt ordnance ſhould

" be fortified; the water of Till running deep and ford-
" leſs upon the right hand, and but paſſable at the
" bridge, the firſt companies of the enemy being paſſed,
" before they could be relieved and ſuccoured by their
" followers, the bridge by the artillery ſhould be beaten
" down, and the enemy charged when they began to
" paſs the water."

The king, impatient of counſel, anſwered, " Though
" their number encreaſed to as many more as they were,
" he with that remainder of his army would fight them.
" That advantages were to be embraced according to
" the occaſion of the fight, without tedious deliberation;
" if any man was afraid he might, if he pleaſed, return
" home." A ſtrange reſolution in a prince, who imagined every man in his army to have the ſame ſtrength, courage, boldneſs and reſolution with himſelf!

This anſwer aſtoniſhed the nobility, and ſince they could not perſuade him to a fair retreat, but that he will fight, and that without the advantage of the bridge, being inferior in number to the Engliſh (for they were reckoned by the ſcouts ſix and twenty thouſand) they fortify themſelves according to the commodity of the hill, where they lay encamped, with a reſolution not to ſuffer the king to hazard his perſon in the battle. If victory ſhould incline to them, their gains were but ſmall, and glory leſs, extending but over ſome few of the nobility, and a ſmall parcel of the body of the ſtate of England, and a number of yeomen, and preſſed horſemen, the flower of the kingdom being in France. But if they were overthrown, their loſs would prove incomparable, yea unſpeakable, a martial young king either killed, taken, or put to flight: wherefore they think it fitting, not neceſſary, the king be pleaſed, with ſo many as either chance or election might ſeparate with him, to be a ſpectator of the fortune of the day. To this the king replyed; " He neither wanted ability to
" diſcharge the part of a ſoldier, nor wiſdom to com-
" mand as a general, and to outlive ſo many valiant
" country-men, would be more terrible to him than
" death itſelf." When forced to give way for his perſonal preſence, in the field they appoint ſome to be arrayed in like furniture of arms, and a like guard as the

the king; ſhadows to perſonate him in ſundry quarters of the field, that the enemy ſhould not ſet one man as their chief mark to invade, from whoſe death the victory and concluſion of the war might depend: and if the king ſhould fall, the army ſhould not loſe courage, nor be brought to believe he were loſt, ſo long as they ſaw a general, with his cognizance and guard preſent and near them to be a witneſs of their valour and atchievements, as not long before, at the battle of Fornou in Italy, had been practiſed by the French to their king CHARLES.

By this time the earl of Surrey, with the power of the North of England, was come within three miles of the place, where the Scotiſh army was encamped, and perceiving he could not but with great diſadvantage fight them; he ſendeth an herald requiring the king to come forth of his ſtrength to ſome indifferent ground, where he would be ready to encounter him. The king being forward to condeſcend to this requeſt, the lords cried out; "It was madneſs to accept of opportunity of fighting from his enemies, and to ſet all at a main chance according to their appointment, it being their advantage to prolong time, and trifle with him in whoſe camp there was already ſcarcity of victuals which ere long might put him to ſuch a ſtand, that he ſhould not know well what to do: Neither was it likely he could be furniſhed from the inner parts of the country, by reaſon of the cumberſome ways for carriages to paſs, after the falling of ſo great and continued rains, and the ſoftening of the ground: that by ſitting ſtill, and committing nothing to fortune, he might have his enemy at his pleaſure; if they dared aſſail him, at their perils be it. He lacked nothing but patience to be victorious."

The Scots keeping their trenches, the earl eſſayeth to draw them out, and the ninth of September, removing his camp marcheth towards the ſame hill of Flowden where they lay encamped; his van-guard, with the cannon, paſſeth the water of Till at Twiſel bridge, the reerward going over at Mylnford. King JAMES, ſeeing them paſs the water, imagineth they meant to win a hill between his camp and them; to prevent

which (ſetting fire to cabanes raiſed of boughs of trees and reeds) he removeth to another hill, before the Engliſh could obſerve his motion, the ſmoke darkening the air between the two armies. Whilſt the Scotiſh army was removing, the Engliſh advance to the foot of Flowden hill, by which they have double advantage, the Scotiſh ordnance could not much annoy them, they marching upwards and under the level thereof; again, by their ſhot, they might eaſily gall their enemies as they came downwards upon them.

The fatal hour of the battle approaching, the Engliſh draw up in good order ſix and twenty thouſand men, ſome write thirty, in two battails, any of which was equal in number to the whole Scotiſh army. THOMAS lord HOWARD, admiral, had the van-guard, of which Sir EDMOND HOWARD his brother led one of the wings, and Sir MARMADUKE CONSTABLE the other; the lords DACRES and CLIFFORD, with Sir EDWARD STANLEY kept the rear: the earl of Surrey, with LATIMER, SCROOP, and Sir STEPHEN BULL, kept the main battail. The Scots by their fewneſs of number, not being able to order many batallions, marſhal themſelves in four, three of which ſhould enter in fight, and the fourth attend for ſupply. The king kept the middle or main: ALEXANDER GORDON earl of Huntley had the right wing of the van; the earls of Crawfurd and Montroſe led the other, and, ſome have recorded, the lord HUME. The third army was guided by MATTHEW earl of Lenox, and the earl of Argyle, where was MACKENZIE and MACLEAN, with the fierceneſs of the Highlanders. ADAM HEPBURN earl of Bothwel, with his friends and the flower of the gentry of Lothian, kept off for ſudden diſpatches and chances of the battle.

The earl of Huntley making down the hill, where they encamp near the foot of Branxtown, encountereth that wing of the Engliſh hoſt, which was led by Sir EDMOND HOWARD, which after a furious and long fight he put to flight, and ſo eagerly purſued the advantage, that Sir EDMOND had either been killed or taken, if he had not been reſcued by baſtard HERON and the lord DACRES. The batallion which the earls of

of Lenox and Argyle led, being Highland men, encouraged with this firſt glance of victory, looſing their ranks, abandoning all order (for ought that the French ambaſſador LA MOTTE, by ſigns, threatenings and clamours, could do to hold them) broke furiouſly upon the enemy, and invade him in the face, of whom they are not only valiantly received, but, by Sir EDWARD STANLEY's traverſing the hill, encloſed, cut down at their backs and proſtrated. The middle ward, which the king led, with which now the earl of Bothwel with the power of Lothian was joined, fought it out courageouſly body againſt body, and ſword to ſword. Numbers upon either ſide falling, till darkneſs and the black ſhadows of the night, forced, as it were, by conſent of both, a retreat: neither of them underſtanding the fortune of the day, and unto whom victory appertained.

Many brave Scots did here fall, eſteemed to be above five thouſand, of the nobleſt and worthieſt families of the kingdom; who chooſed rather to die, than outlive their friends and compatriots.

The king's natural ſon ALEXANDER arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, the biſhop of the Iſles, the abbots of Incheffray and Kilwinning, the earls of Crawfurd, Morton, Argyle, Lenox, Errol, Caithneſs, Bothwel, Athole, the lords ELPHINSTON, ERSKINE, FORBES, ROSS, LOVET, SINCLAIR, MAXWELL, with his three brothers, SEMPLE, BORTHWICK; numbers of gentlemen, BALGONY, BLACKADER, BONHARD, Sir ALEXANDER SETON, MACKENZIE, with MACLEAN, GEORGE maſter of Angus, and Sir WILLIAM DOUGLAS of Glenbervy, with ſome two hundred gentlemen of their name and vaſſals, were here ſlain.

The Engliſh left few leſs upon the place, but moſt part of them being of the common ſort of ſoldiers, and men of no great mark, compared with ſo many nobles killed, and a king loſt, the number was not eſteemed, nor the loſs thought any thing of.

The companies of the lord HUME had reſerved themſelves all the time of the fight, keeping their firſt order; and, when by the earl of Huntley, he was required to relieve the batallion where the king fought, he is ſaid to have anſwered, *That that man did well that*

day who ſtood and ſaved himſelf. After the retreat, his followers gathered a great booty of the ſpoils of the ſlaughtered. This fight began September 9th, about four of the clock afternoon, and continued three hours, Anno 1513.

About the dawning of the next morning, the lord DACRES with his troops taking a view of the field, and ſeeing the brazen ordnance of the Scots not tranſported, with moſt part of the fallen bodies not rifled, ſendeth ſpeedy advertiſement to the HOWARDS and the penſive army; inviting all to the ſetting up trophies, ſpoil, and tranſporting of the great ordnance to Berwick, amongſt which were ſeven culverins, of like ſize and make, called the ſeven ſiſters.

Divers diverſly report of the fortune of the king: we, without affirming any thing for certain, ſhall only ſet down what fame hath publiſhed; a falſe witneſs often of human accidents, and which many times, by malignant brains is forged, and by more malignant ears received and believed. The Engliſh hold that he was killed in this battle; the Scots, that many in like arms with the like guards, were killed, every one of which was held for the king: amongſt others ALEXANDER lord ELPHINSTON, his favorite, who had married ELIZABETH BARLEY, one of the dames of honour of queen MARGARET. He was a man not unlike to the king in face and ſtature, and repreſenting him in arms in the field, with the valianteſt and moſt couragious of the army fought it out, and acting heroically his part, as a king was killed, heaps of ſlaughtered bodies environing his. In the ſearch where the fight was, the number, tallneſs, and furniture of the dead bodies being obſerved, their faces and wounds viewed, his body, as if it yet breathed majeſty, was amidſt the others ſelected, acknowleged for his maſter's, brought to Berwick and embalmed. That it was not the body of the king, the girdle of iron, which he ever wore, and then was not found about him, gave ſome, though not certain, teſtimony.

Some have recorded, that the fortune of the day inclining to the Engliſh, four tall men mounted upon luſty horſes, wearing upon the points of their launces,

for

ſor cognizances, ſtreamers of ſtraw, mounting the king on a ſorrel hackney, convoyed him far from the place of fight, and that he was ſeen beyond the Tweed, between Kelſo and Duns. After which, what became of him is uncertain. Many hold, he was killed in the caſtle of Hume, either by the intelligence between the Engliſh and the lord HUME's kindred, or out of fear (for they were at the ſlaughter of the king's father, and the moſt violent in that fight) or of hopes of great fortunes, which would follow innovations, and the confuſion of the ſtate, being men who lived beſt in a troubled commonwealth and upon the borders.

One CARR, a follower of the lord HUME's, that ſame night the battle was fought, thruſt the abbot of Kelſo out of his abbacy: which he never durſt attempt, the king being alive. Another, DAVID GARBRAITH, in the time of JOHN the governor, vaunted, that however JOHN wronged the HUMES, he was one of ſix who had abated the inſolence of king JAMES, and brought him to know he was mortal. To theſe is added, that the governor JOHN, not long hereafter, did cut off the heads of the lord HUME, and his brother, without any known great cauſe. The common people, ever more addicted to ſuperſtition than verity, believed he was living, and had paſſed over the ſeas, and, according to his promiſe, viſited the holy ſepulchre in Paleſtine: and that there, for his other offences, and the bearing of arms againſt his father, in prayers and penance, he ſpent the remainder of his tedious days. That he would return again when he found opportunity, and the neceſſity of Europe required him. This report was of as great truth, as that which the Britains have of the return of their king ARTHUR, and the Burgundians not long before conceived of their duke CHARLES after the battle of Nancy, moſt of them believing he eſcaped from the conflict. He was loſt the twenty fifth year of his reign, the thirty ninth of his age.

This king was of a vigorous body, his ſtature being neither too tall nor too low, of a pleaſant countenance, of a pregnant wit; but by the faults of the times in which he lived, not poliſhed with letters. He excelled

in horſe-manſhip, fencing and ſhooting. By much watching, ſlender diet, and uſe, he was enabled to endure all extremities of weather, ſcarcity, and want of reſt, with good health of body.

He was juſt in giving judgment, in puniſhing malefactors ſevere, yet tractable and moderate. With the peril of ſome few he reſtrained vices, and rather ſhook the ſword than ſtruck with it. He knew there were ſome things, though princes might, yet they ought not to do. He was eaſy of acceſs, moſt courteous in ſpeech, and meek in anſwering every man. He was ſo far from being overtaken with anger, or other violent perturbations, that he was never obſerved to have given an evil or diſobliging word to any, or that the colour of his face changed by any offence offered him, or informations given him, relying without paſſion upon his own magnanimity.

He was of a free and liberal diſpoſition, far from any oſtentation. As he underſtood well the art of giving, ſo to acquire and purchaſe he was not ſufficient of himſelf, but made uſe of men, who drew more hatred upon their own heads, than mony into their prince's coffers.

Though he delighted more in Mars than the muſes, he was a great admirer and advancer of learned men. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON biſhop of Aberdeen builded, by his liberality, the college of Aberdeen, and named it the king's college, by reaſon of thoſe priviledges and rents the king beſtowed upon it.

His generoſity did ſhew itſelf in not delivering of PERKIN WARBECK: he truſted much, and had great confidence in his nobility, and governed, by love not by fear, his people.

It is no wonder, amidſt ſo much worth, that ſome human frailty, and ſome according diſcord be found. There is no day ſo bright and fair, which one moment or other looketh not pale, and remaineth not with ſome dampiſh ſhadow of diſcoloured clouds. He was ſomewhat wedded to his own humour, opinionative and raſh; actions of raſhneſs and temerity, even although they may have an happy event, being never praiſe-worthy in a prince. He was ſo infected with that illuſtrious crime,

crime, which the ambitious take for virtue, deſire of fame, that he preferred it to his own life, and the peace of his ſubjects.

He ſo affected popularity, and endeavoured to purchaſe the love of his people, by largeſſes, banqueting, and other magnificence, diving himſelf in debt; that by thoſe ſubſidies and exactions, which of neceſſity he ſhould have been conſtrained to have levied and ſqueezed from the people, longer life had made him loſe all that favour and love he had ſo painfully purchaſed, that death ſeemed to have come to him wiſhedly, and in good time.

The wedding of other's quarrels, eſpecially of the French, ſeemeth in him inexcuſable; a wiſe prince ſhould be ſlow and loath to engage himſelf in a war although he hath ſuffered ſome wrong. He ſhould conſider that of all human actions and hazards there is no one of which the precipitation is ſo dangerous, as that of beginning and undertaking a war. Neither, in human affairs, ſhould there more depths be ſounded, nor hidden paſſages ſearched and pryed into, than in this. He ſhould remember, that beſides the ſad neceſſity which is inſeparable from the moſt innocent war (the waſting and deſtroying of the goods and lives of much people) there is nothing of which the revolutions and changes are more inconſtant, and the concluſions and ends more uncertain.

The ſea is not more treacherous, falſe and deceiving, nor changeth more ſwiftly her calms into ſtorms, than wars and the fortune of arms do, the event and ſucceſs belying the beginning. It is not enough that a prince know a war which he undertaketh to be juſt, but he ſhould conſider alſo if it be neceſſary, and if it be profitable, and conduce to the ſtate, which he governeth.

As men of ſtrong and healthful bodies follow ordinarily delight in their youth, he was ſometimes amorouſly carried away. He confined the earl of Angus in the iſle of Arran, for taking JANE KENNEDY, a daughter of the earl of Caſſils, out of Galloway, a fair and noble lady, of whom he became enamoured as he went in his pilgrimage to St. Ninian's. In his laſt expedition

the lady FORD was thought to have hindered the progreſs of his arms, and haſtened the ſucceſs of the battle.

Though virtue be ſometimes unfortunate, yet is it ever in an high eſteem in the memories of men: ſuch a deſire remained of him in the hearts of his people, after his loſs, that the like was not of any king before him: princes who are out of this life being only the delights and darlings of a people. ANNE the French queen not many days out-lived the rumour of his death. He ſerves for an example of the frailty of great men on the theatre of this world, and of the inconſtancy of all ſublunary things.

He had children, JAMES and ARTHUR, who died Infants; JAMES who ſucceeded him; ALEXANDER, born after his death, who died young; ALEXANDER a natural ſon, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, ſo much admired and regreted by ERASMUS; MARGARET, of a daughter of the lord DRUMMOND's, married to the earl of Huntley (whoſe mother had been contracted to the king, and taken away, to his great regret, by thoſe who governed the ſtate, that he ſhould not follow the example of king ROBERT his predeceſſor, who married a lady of that family) and JAMES earl of Murray.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and REIGN OF JAMES V.

THE fatal accident and overthrow of the king, and flower of the nobility of Scotland, at Flowden, filled the remnant of the ſtate with great ſorrow, but with greater amazement and perplexity: for by this great change they expected no leſs than the progreſs and advancement of the victor's arms and fortune, and feared the conqueſt, ſervitude and deſolation of the whole kingdom. The rigorous ſeaſon of the year being ſpent in mourning and performing the funeral rites for their loſt kinſmen and friends; and the gathering together the floating ribs and diſperſed planks of this ſhip-wrack; the peers aſſembled at Stirling, where applying themſelves to ſet their confuſions in order, and determine on the remedies of their preſent evils, the lively portrait of their calamities did repreſent itſelf to the full view. The head and faireſt parts, which majeſty, authority, direction, and wiſdom, had made eminent,

eminent, were cut away, ſome turbulent church-men, orphaned noblemen, and timorous citizens, filled their vacant places; and many who needed directions themſelves, were placed to direct and guide the helm of ſtate: ſuch miſeries being always incident to a people, where the father of the country is taken away, and the ſucceſſor is of under-age. In this maze of perplexity, to diſoblige themſelves of their greateſt duty, and give ſatisfaction to the moſt and beſt, the lawful ſucceſſor and heir, JAMES the prince, is ſet on the throne and crowned, being at that time one year five months and ten days of age, and the hundred and fifth king of Scotland. The laſt will and teſtament, which the late king had left before his expedition, being publicly ſeen and approved, the queen challenges the protection of the realm and tutelage of her ſon, as diſpoſed unto her ſo long as ſhe continued a widow, and followed the counſel and advice of the chancellor of the realm, and ſome other grave counſellors, and ſhe obtaineth it; as well out of a religion they had to fulfil the will of their deceaſed ſovereign, as to ſhun and be freed of the imminent arms and imminent danger of her brother the king of England. Being eſtabliſhed in the government, and having from all that reſpect, reverence and obſervance, which belong to ſuch a princeſs, ſhe ſent letters to the king of England; "That having compaſſion upon the "tears and prayers of a widow, of his ſiſter, of an orphan, of his nephew, he would not only ceaſe from "following the war upon Scotland, then at war with it"ſelf, and many ways divided, but ennobled by cou"rage and goodneſs, be a defence unto her and the in"fant, her ſon, againſt all injuries to be offered them "by foreigners abroad, or any of the factious nobility, "who would oppoſe themſelves againſt her at home." To which king HENRY anſwered, "That with the peace"able he would entertain peace, and with the froward "and turbulent, war; if the Scots would live in peace, "they ſhould have it for his part, but if they would ra"ther fight, he was not to refuſe them. That her hus"band had fallen by his own indiſcreet raſhneſs, and "fooliſh kindneſs to France: that he regreted his death "as his ally, and ſhould be willing to prohibit all ho-

"ſtility

"ſtility againſt the country of Scotland, during the "minority of her ſon." For a remedy of preſent evils, one year's truce and a day longer was yielded unto; in which time he had leiſure to proſecute his deſigns againſt France, without fear of being diſturbed or diverted by the the incurſions and inroads of the Scots upon his borders.

The government of a woman and a child over a people, ever in motion, mutinous and delighting in changes, could not long ſubſiſt firm, nor continue after one faſhion. The firſt ſhake and diſorders of the kingdom aroſe, and were occaſioned by the ambition and avarice of the churchmen, the moth-worms of ſtate, being ſeconded by the factious nobles and malecontents, concerning the diſtribution of the offices, places, and benefices, vacant by the deaths of thoſe ſlain in the late battle. ANDREW FORMAN archbiſhop of Bourges, biſhop of Murray, and legate to pope JULIUS, GAVIN DOUGLAS biſhop of Dunkeld, uncle to the earl of Angus, and JOHN HEPBURN prior of St. Andrews, contend all three for the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews. GAVIN DOUGLAS was preſented to it by the queen, ANDREW FORMAN by the pope, JOHN HEPBURN was choſen by the chapter his canons; and ſundry of the nobility favoured his election; they ſaid alſo, that the place whilſt it was vacant belonged unto him: and his party was ſo ſtrong that none durſt publiſh the pope's bull in favour of ARDREW FORMAN for many days; till ALEXANDER lord HUME then chamberlain, and warden of the eaſt marches, won by many promiſes, and the abbacy of Coldingham engaged and preſently given in hand to his younger brother DAVID, in deſpite of the oppoſition of the lord HAILES and the faction of the HEPBURNS, then ſeditious and powerful, well backed by his friends, vaſſals and adherents all in arms, cauſed publiſh and proclaim it at the mercat-croſs of Edinburgh: which action firſt incenſed the prior to plot miſchief againſt the family of the HUMES. WILLIAM ELPHINSTON biſhop of Aberdeen, by many of the clergy and ſome of the nobility, had been deſired to accept this dignity, but he refuſed it, being now weary

weary of earthly greatneſs, and making for another world; for at this time at Edinburgh he left this.

As ordinarily, when one faction is near extinguiſhed, the remnant ſubdivideth, after theſe jars of the churchmen, which were cheriſhed by the nobility, the nobles began to jar among themſelves, and grudge at others preferments. ALEXANDER lord GORDON, ruled and commanded the countries North-ward the river of Forth; as ALEXANDER lord HUME uſurped almoſt a royal authority, and commanded over the countries on the South-ſide of the Forth; the earl of Angus went about a fairer conqueſt.

JAMES earl of Arran lord HAMILTON, being neareſt in blood to the king, could not but with indignation look upon the undeſerved greatneſs of theſe uſurpers. Under the ſhadow of this oligarchy, turbulent, evil diſpoſed, and men abhorring quietneſs, ravaged the country, and did what they pleaſed.

Amidſt theſe confuſions, the queen in April brought forth a poſthumous child in the caſtle of Stirling, whom the biſhop of Caithneſs, abbot of Dunfermline, and the arch-dean of St. Andrews, baptized and named ALEXANDER. After ſhe was recovered and had acquired her wonted ſtrength of body, ſhe found the authority of her place was turned weak, and that ſhe enjoyed nothing but the name of governing, the people delighting to live rather without rule and in all diſorders, than to be ſubject to the obedience of a woman, though a queen. After great deliberation and many eſſays in vain to curb their inſolence, and vindicate her authority from their contempt, as alſo to ſave her ſon from the dangers of an inſulting nobility, and ſettle her eſtate, ſhe reſolved to match with ſome nobleman, eminent in power and worth, who could and would protect her and hers in the greateſt extremities. Amongſt the choice of the young noblemen of Scotland, for a long ſucceſſion of renowned anceſtors, comelineſs of perſon, noble converſation, and prudence in affairs of ſtate, being lovely, courteous, liberal and wiſe, none was comparable to the earl of Angus: him ſhe determines to make partner of her royal bed and fortunes; and as ordinarily in matters of love, it falleth out, by the impatience of delay,

without

without acquainting her brother the king of England, or the nobles of the kingdom with her deſign, ſhe afterwards marrieth him, transferring, if ſhe could, the whole weight of the kingdom and the reins of the government of the ſtate into his hands, having no more freedom in her own determinations.

No ſooner was this revealed to the world, when the nobility and gentry divided into two factions, one adhering to the DOUGLAS, in whom kindred, friendſhip and long obſervance had bred hopes of benefits and preferment; another of ſuch whom envy of his greatneſs and advancement had made hungry of change. The firſt would have the government continued in the queen's perſon and her husband's: becauſe hereby the realm ſhould ſtill have peace with England, which at that time was the moſt neceſſary point to be reſpected. The adverſe party, of which the lord chamberlain was the principal, who was a man both in power, parentage, and riches, equal to, if not beyond, many of the great men of the country, importuned the election of a new governor and protector of the young king. The queen loſing by her marriage both the tutelage of her ſon and the government, ſhould not take it to heart that another were choſen and put in her place. Her marrying the earl of Angus had made him too great already to be a ſubject, the continuing of her in authority would promote him to the greatneſs of a prince. Who ſhould be governor, is upon both ſides long and contentiouſly argued. Many gave their voices for the earl of Arran, as being near in blood to the king, and a man affecting peace more than others, and every way ſufficient for ſuch a charge. The chamberlain had determined of another, and told, it was a wrong to bar from ſo high an honour a man of the maſculine line in blood to the king, and prefer one of the feminine. JOHN duke of Albany, ſon to ALEXANDER duke of Albany, the brother of king JAMES III, before all others, by all reaſon ſhould be preferred to the government. Being demanded if he would be the firſt, to give example to others, who would ſet his hand to this election, he without pauſing performed it, with a proteſtation, that though the reſt of the nobility oppoſed it, as to his coming

ing into Scotland to accept the government, he alone would go to France, charge him with it, be his convoy hither, and maintain his title.

This he was thought to have done, for that, deſpairing to reach and obtain this dignity himſelf, out of emulation, he laid a deſign, that never any other of the nobles of the kingdom ſhould reach it; affecting rather to give a ſtranger the place, than a competitor, bringing in the French to equal the ballance as principal, himſelf only as acceſſory, nothing doubting of a chief place in ſtate, as well for his forwardneſs in this election, as for the neceſſity of his ſervice which the French could not well want, and ſhould never be lacking. He feared alſo, if the faction of the DOUGLASSES prevailed, the greatneſs of the earl of Angus would be an umbrage to his, and leſſen and impair it; their lands and fortunes lying near to other, as that the queen by her power in England would croſs his faireſt projects.

The king of England had ſent a letter to the lords of Scotland, as he had done to the French king for that ſame effect, remonſtrating how dangerous it was for the ſtate of Scotland, and the young king, if they ſhould make choice of the duke of Albany.

Nothwithſtanding all which, through ambition, malice, envy of others, diſcords among themſelves, they made choice of this gentleman, a ſtranger by his education and birth, ignorant of the nature and manners of the Scots; whoſe father was baniſhed for treaſon againſt his brother, and died un-reſtored; one altogether devoted to the French king, and an enemy to the Engliſh; not caring to keep the country of Scotland in wars and troubles, ſo he might defend the French nation, by making the Scots fight their battles.

After many private letters from his friends in Scotland, eſpecially from the chamberlain, inviting him to come home, and accept his new dignity, the duke at laſt is required by the ſtates, and lyon king of arms is directed to him, to acquaint him with their proceedings, and make him forward on his way. He to endear his coming, and make himſelf the more deſired of the people, excuſing his ſtay for a while (which he laid upon the treaty of peace, which was then to be agreed upon between

between England and France, by the marriage of LOUIS the French king with MARY, the youngeſt ſiſter of HENRY king of England, which required his preſence) ſendeth home the king of arms with letters from the French king with Sir ANTHONY DARCEY le Sieur de la Beauté. This man propoſed certain conditions, which the duke required: "What ſhould be "the form of his government, his guards, what caſtles "ſhould be delivered to him for his garriſons; the re-"ſtoring his patrimony and father's dignities to him." Which particularities being condeſcended unto, the caſtle of Dunbar was inſtantly delivered to la Beauté to be kept for a French garriſon at the duke's coming; and Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, JAMES OGILBY abbot of Aberbrothock, with the king of arms, were ſent back again to France. After their arrival, the duke of Albany, being furniſhed with all neceſſaries by the French king, with eight well rigged ſhips took the ſeas, and in the month of May arrived on the Weſt coaſts of Scotland, from whence with a great retinue of the nobles and barons of the country, by eaſy journeys, the queen meeting him, he came to the town of Edinburgh. In the parliament which had been prorogued for his coming, the duke accepted the government of the kingdom, and gave his oath of fidelity to the king and country, and the three eſtates gave their oath of obedience to him; and both ſwore, That in the adminiſtration of juſtice, neither ſhould be deficient to others. Here is he reſtored to all his father's inheritance, titles and honours: being declared duke of Albany, earl of March, and governor of the kingdom till the king's full maturity. Many laws are made for the well of the kingdom, and to gratify his lineage, JAMES the natural ſon of JAMES IV. is created earl of Murray.

At the preſence of this new governor, the face of the ſtate turned more beautiful, and the court more royal; oppreſſion is reſtrained, juſtice ſincerely executed, the court is frequented with good and virtuous men, and malefactors and naughty perſons baniſh themſelves. He maketh a progreſs to all the notable towns of the kingdom, ſeeing crimes puniſhed and faults amended.

Being

Being a ſtranger, and not throughly acquainted with the municipal ſtatutes and particular practices of the country, in great and important matters, he proceedeth by the inſtructions and informations of ſome choice men of the nation itſelf; eſpecially, ſince he was not infinite to liſten to the advice of every one, he gave himſelf to hearken and follow the opinion and counſel of JOHN HEPBURN prior of St. Andrews; whoſe judgment, in his greateſt difficulties, he receives as an oracle. This man being of a ſubtile wit, malicious, craſty, rich, and endued with ſome courtly eloquence, by a counterfeit pretence of knowlege of the affairs of the kingdom and ſtate, neither in ſome things did he err, at firſt being familiar with the duke, and in a little time after, by bribing ſecretly ſome of his choice ſervants, turned his only privado, and almoſt poſſeſſed alone his judgment and ear. "He informed him of the ſtrength and riches "of the country, of the nature of the people, and man- "ner of their laws; and revealed to him many ſecrets "of the government. He gave him a catalogue of the "whole deadly feuds and diviſions amongſt the noble- "men and gentry, opening unto him which were in- "veterate, and had long continued, and which were "recent, and upon what accidents they had their begin- "nings. How in proſecuting revenge in them, they "cared not how innocent any man was, if he were of "the name and alliance, but rather thought the more "innocent any was, the more it teſtified their ſpite, "which they deſired to manifeſt by taking him away. "He ſhewed him what factions were in the kingdom, "who ſwayed them, and were the heads. He told him "the Scots were a violent fierce people, mutinouſly "proud, and knew not whom to obey without the "ſword were drawn. That they were never abſolute- "ly governed by their own kings themſelves, far leſs "would they be ruled by him who was but a governor, "and half a ſtranger. King JAMES I. they had kil- "led; they had made a league againſt king JAMES II; "in open battle they had overthrown king JAMES III; "and the laſt king was by beſt judgments, thought to "have been ſecretly taken away." Here (calling to mind the proclaiming of the arch-biſhop ANDREW FOR-

"MAN'S

MAN's bull) he omitted nothing could derogate from the chamberlain's reputation and honour, and breed an evil opinion of him in the governor.

"He inſtructed him, how the great houſes of Scot-
" land were ſo joined and linked together, by kindred,
" alliances, bonds of ſervice, or man-rent, that no
" gentleman of any quality, although a malefactor and
" a guilty perſon, could be preſented to juſtice with-
" out ſome ſtir, commotion, or tumult of the grandees
" and their factious friends. Amidſt ſo many ſtrong
" parties and confederate malecontents, the governor
" by the power of the Scots themſelves, and his own
" kindred, friends and followers, was not powerful en-
" ough ſafely to adminiſter juſtice. For which cauſe,
" the king of France ſhould be implored to ſend hither
" competent forces to quell the inſolencies, and ſhake
" the pride of the factious nobles. The heads of the
" factions, which had a principal ſway in the kingdom
" at that time, would either be cut off, or kept under,
" but with ſuch cunning and dexterity, that it ſhould
" not be perceived nor found out. That many were
" aimed at and intereſſed when ſome few did ſuffer and
" fall. That for the preſent, there were three heads
" to be looked unto, as feared, and like to bring nova-
" tions in the ſtate, being men able to change the pre-
" ſent government.

" The earl of Angus, a man in the prime of his youth,
" of high-flying thoughts by his alliance with the king
" of England, and that eſtimation the people conceived
" of him by the merits of his anceſtors, and the ſingu-
" lar love the ſubjects bare him, carried a mind above the
" fortune of a private man, and ſeemed not born to
" live a ſubject's life; each action of his bearing in it
" majeſty and magnificence; he had power to hurt, if
" he would hurt.

" The lord chamberlain, a man unpoliſhed, ſtub-
" bornly ſtout, hazardous, mighty in riches and power,
" and conſequently proud; of a working mind and vehe-
" ment ſpirit, whom time and experience had hardened
" by great exploits and dangerous actions, who had had
" the malice to be a ſpectator of the diſcomfiture of his

" prince

" prince and country-men at Flowden, was likely to " attend the opportunity of traverſes and changes.

" The third was the arch-biſhop ANDREW FOR- " MAN, once ſecretary to the pope, who though he " was not of any noble ſtem nor deſcent of blood, nor for " his followers, friends and adherents much to be tak- " en notice of or feared, yet conſidering him, as his " legate-ſhip, plurality of benefices, many penſions " from princes, had guilded him over; and ballancing " him by his preſent treaſure, he could make a weak " party ſtrong, and add weight to what ſide ſoever he " inclined. He was therefore with piercing eyes to be " looked into, and all his actions and ways to be ob- " ſerved."

The governor gave no great attention to what the prior had inſtructed againſt the arch-biſhop, having before had ſome inkling of the rancour, grudge, and enmity between them. And he was conſcious the arch-biſhop's riches were above envy; he having been ever more ſolicitous magnificently to ſpend what he had acquired, than to hoord up. Neither did he beſtow ſo much upon any of his country-men, as he did upon the French, the friends and ſervants of the governor. He knew he was alſo ſo circumſpect, as not to adhere to any of the factions of the time, in a neutrality indifferently and friendly entertaining all his compatriots.

Nor was he much moved at his information concerning the earl of Angus, finding him a man peaceable, courteous to all, and affable; and though of aſpiring thoughts, carried often away with his private delights and courtly pleaſures.

But what the prior informed againſt the lord chamberlain he deeply ingraved in his memory, and ever after his countenance bewrayed certain flaws of ill concealed diſcontent. Neither did he thereafter ſhew him wonted favours; which the chamberlain obſerving, and gueſſing at the change of the governor's mind towards him by more than ordinary evidences and ſigns, he having been the only man who wrought his advancement and coming to Scotland, his deſerts now being either forgot or ungratefully remembered, full of grief and diſdain, he retired from the court to his own caſtles; where,

where, when he had reſted a while, half aſtoniſhed to ſee his hopes ſo fruſtrated, he taketh new reſolutions and determinations to play the governor double or quit. Hereafter he leaveth no means untried to become entire with the queen and her husband, and by obſervance and frequent meeting with them, he wrought himſelf not only to be embraced as their friend, but as their counſellor, and one in whom they had greateſt confidence. He many times with them deplored the public calamity, when his own particular only ſtung him, accuſing himſelf of his too much forwardneſs in calling home a man born an exile, whoſe father died baniſhed for his ambition, and had eſſayed to take the crown from his eldeſt brother. "Since this man was "the neareſt of blood to ſucceed, who could not per- "ceive his laſt work would be the making away the in- "nocent child, his pupil, to aſcend the royal throne "himſelf; in the height of malice accompliſhing what "his father, out of a deſire to rule, did project? by his "tender years the king could not underſtand nor pre- "vent his danger, his mother might and ſhould antici- "pate it, that new neceſſities required new remedies; "only one poſtern gate remained yet open, which was, "that the queen would tranſport her ſon to England, "and truſt herſelf, and what ſhe held deareſt, to the "faith and protection of her brother."

When this plot was whiſpered to the governor, who wanted not his own emiſſaries among the queen's attendants, it was no ſooner revealed than believed, and no ſooner believed, when (being a forward and vehement man, and who uſed celerity in all his actions) with as many men as haſte could ſuffer him to gather, forthwith he marched at midnight from Edinburgh to Stirling; there unawares he ſurprized the caſtle, and in it the queen with her two ſons. A council being aſſembled, the king with his brother ALEXANDER are ſequeſtred from their mother, and truſted to the cuſtody of four lords, who by turns interchangeably ſhould attend the two princes, and have a care of their education. That no violence ſhould be offered them, certain gentlemen of the French and Scots are appointed ſtill to wait on and guard them. From this ſuſpicion the ſeeds of enmity

enmity began to be ſown between the queen and the governor, which neither time nor wiſdom thereafter could take away and root out,

Amidſt this ſtorm of court, the lord chamberlain being brought to a new traverſe of his thoughts, with his brother Mr. WILLIAM HUME fly towards England; the queen with her husband and Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, his brother, with an unexpected ſuddenneſs haſte to Tantallon, and from thence to Berwick, from which they had a convoy to the nunnery of Coldſtream: here they attended advertiſement from the king of England what courſe to follow, and know his pleaſure. He recommended them to the protection and care of the lord DACRES, and aſſigned the caſtle of Harbottle in Northumberland for his ſiſter's reſidence, during her abode in theſe Northern parts, and the troubles of Scotland.

The governor, not a little perplexed at the flight and eſcape of thoſe conſpirators, ſendeth ambaſſadors to the court of England to clear himſelf to the king, of what might be ſurmiſed againſt him concerning theſe new ſtrangers come to his country. "He had done nothing "which ſhould have offended the queen, made her a- "fraid, or to entertain or harbour a ſiniſtrous thought "of his proceedings. Neither did he intend any thing "againſt theſe who had followed and accompanied her, "which ſhould have moved them to leave their coun- "try; unto which if they pleaſed to return, they ſhould "be welcome, enjoy their wonted freedom, and keep "peaceably what they had poſſeſſed. If they were "conſcious to themſelves of any miſdemeanor, he "would not be too preciſe in the ſearch of it." He alſo trafficked by the friends of thoſe who favoured the DOUGLASSES and HUMES to perſuade them to a return, giving them fair promiſes of obtaining what they ſhould demand; till at laſt he moved them to bow and yield to his deſires. The fugitive gentlemen returned; but the queen being with child, and near the time of her delivery, was neceſſitated to ſtay ſtill, till at Harbottle caſtle ſhe brought forth her daughter MARGARET, afterward grand-mother to JAMES king of Great-Britain. So ſoon as ſhe was able to endure travel, and be

be tranſported, king HENRY, with an honourable retinue, brought her to his court, where ſhe was by him and her ſiſter MARY, late queen of France, welcomed. In May ſhe made her progreſs through London to Baynard's caſtle, and from thence to Greenwich: where, in honour of his ſiſter's coming, king HENRY, with no leſs valour than magnificence, kept two ſolemn days of tilting and barriers.

The contrivers of the exploit of tranſporting the king to England being within the country, and, as it were, ſecure, the governor, whoſe head was filled with ſuſpicions, not thinking himſelf bound by promiſes, will have them give a reckoning of their enterprize and flight into England. Againſt ſome he hath clear proofs, fair and manifeſt evidences; againſt others bare ſurmiſes and naked ſuſpicions, for they had not left the country, nor had been partakers of the queen's fortunes. Here with an unexpected ſuddenneſs, Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS uncle to the earl of Angus, biſhop of Dunkeld, and Mr. PATRICK PANTHER ſecretary to the late king, were committed; Mr. GAVIN in the caſtle of St. Andrews, and Mr. PATRICK in Garvet caſtle. The lord DRUMMOND, grand-father to the earl of Angus, having beaten a lyon herald, who too imperiouſly and unmannerly had given him a charge to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt him, was impriſoned in the caſtle of Blackneſs. ALEXANDER, lord HUME, being charged to anſwer for his actions and proceedings, and not appearing, was denounced rebel, his moveables ſeized on and brought to the exchequer. Stirred up and irritated by this out-rage, he maketh roads upon the neighbouring bounds, plundereth Dunbar, which was the governor's chief reſort; and to revenge his wrongs, ſetteth on work the rank-riders and robbers on the borders. To repreſs and bridle this ravaging, the governor, in perſon, with a thouſand hardy ſoldiers marcheth to the borders, and directeth ſome companies to find out the lord HUME: but he, either diſmaid at the worth and fortune of the governor, or broken and bowing under the burden of his own miſeries, or overcome with the requeſts of his friends, cometh to the governor, and ſubmitted his

life

life and eſtate to his faith and clemency. Being brought to Edinburgh, he is truſted to the cuſtody of JAMES earl of Arran, the husband of his ſiſter, with threatenings under pain of high treaſon, that he ſhould not part with him, nor ſuffer him to eſcape. The lord HUME had not long ſtayed in the caſtle of Edinburgh, when with gloſſes of probabilities of changes caſual, and ſuch as might fall out, he moved the earl of Arran, to be of his mind, and brought him to conſpire againſt the governor, and hazard to put himſelf in his place of ſtate. "He himſelf was the only man who had brought in the "governor, and he knew well how to put him out, if the "earl would be of the party, and by his negligence "not reject a ſupreme honour thrown in his arms. He "is begun already not to be loved, if he was not already "hated by the ſubjects for his imperious proceedings. "If the king of England could find but ſome few no-"blemen to make head againſt him, he would conſtrain "him to leave the country. The earl of Arran was "neareſt heir to the king; it was more reaſon he ſhould "be ſecond in the kingdom than JOHN, who though "deſcended of a brother, yet was but deſcended of "a baniſhed man, and a ſtranger to the Scots na-"tion, with whom they had not ſo much as inter-"courſe and familiarity of language." After many ſuch like inducements, the priſoner took away his keepers with him to the South parts of the country; and both by letters to their familiars, kindred, and acquaintance, and private meetings with other noblemen, ſtrove to make ſtrong and increaſe their faction.

In the beginning of the ſpring, JOHN STUART earl of Lenox, the ſiſter's ſon of the earl of Arran, liſted himſelf in the party of the conſpiring lords, and with a number of his friends and followers inveſted the caſtle of Glaſgow; which if they could have kept, had been a great advancement to their intentions. But the governor gathering an army of as many as haſte would ſuffer him to aſſemble, the defenders not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt him, recovered the caſtle with ſmall loſs of his men. After which, in indignation he marched to throw down the caſtle of Hamilton; here victorious anger was conquered by pity and compaſſion: for the

the old counteſs of Arran being at that time there reſident (who was daughter to king JAMES II. ſiſter to king JAMES III. mother to the earl of Arran, grandmother to the earl of Lenox, aunt to the governor) a lady venerable for years and virtues, with tears of affection and ſorrow, falling down at the governor's feet, and received by him with great commiſeration, in a merciful manner, not only preſerved the caſtle, but by the means of the arch-biſhop, ANDREW FORMAN, entered into a treaty for peace to her ſon, and the earl of Lenox. And, in November following, the two earls coming to Edinburgh, by the means of this arch-biſhop, were reconciled to the governor and all former offences pardoned. About this time (his mother being far from him to diſcharge the laſt duties of affection towards him) ALEXANDER duke of Rotheſay, brother to the king, a child to admiration beautiful and delightful, died at Stirling, and was buried in the abby-church of Cambuskenneth.

The term of peace between the two kingdoms being almoſt expired, and both having a deſire to continue it, the Engliſh ſent their commiſſioners to Coldingham, to whom the duke, then reſiding at Dunbar, ſent monſieur DU PLAINS ambaſſador for the French king, Sir WILLIAM SCOT of Balwery, and GAVIN DUNBAR arch-dean of St. Andrews. Theſe, after ſome altercation concerning the Scotiſh fugitives, conclude a peace between the nations from the midſt of January till the feaſt of Whitſuntide thereafter. The Engliſh comprehended in the articles the earl of Angus, the lord HUME, and the reſt of the queen's ſtrayed faction, with all their kinſmen, clients and followers. The lord HUME was received again into the governor's favour, with condition, that if he after break his promiſes and oaths, his old faults ſhould be remembered and joined to his new. Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS and Mr. PATRICK PANTHER were ſet at liberty, the lord DRUMMOND, who had been forfeited, was again reſtored, the earl of Angus, with theſe who had followed him, with many ceremonies, and great ſhew of friendſhip, was welcomed again to the court.

The diſorders of the kingdom called a parliament, in which many acts were made to reſtrain and keep under bold and wicked men, and preſerve the peace of the kingdom. In this parliament it was ordained, the king's brother ALEXANDER being deceaſed, that the governor ſhould be reputed ſecond perſon of the realm, and next heir to the crown. Notwithſtanding the claim made by ALEXANDER STUART the elder brother of the governor, who was begotten on a daughter of the earl of Orkney, to whom the duke of Albany their father had been lawfully joined in marriage before his coming to France; and thus before the marrying of the earl of Bullogne's daughter, the mother of JOHN the governor: upon which ground, ALEXANDER had great reaſon to make his claim and proteſtation as heir to his father. Notwithſtanding his challenge and bravado, ALEXANDER, being more fit for a cowl than a crown, in open parliament gave over all title he had to the crown in his brother's favour. Whereupon to deprive him ever hereafter of lawful ſucceſſion, they turned him prieſt, being made biſhop of Murray, and abbot of Scoon.

A truce being ſincerely kept with England, tumults within the country appeaſed, particular deadly feuds and jars of private perſons either curbed or ſmothered up, the governor giveth himſelf ſome weeks to his courtly recreations at Falkland. With what paſtime ſoever he be delighted, or beguile the hours all the day long, in the night he is often haunted by his old familiar the prior of St. Andrews, whom ambition, ſpite, and malice never ſuffered to take any reſt.

This man put in the governor's head, and made him believe, "That his endeavours and pains heretofore "would prove but vain in ſettling the government, "and that the peace of the kingdom ſhould never be "laſting, firm and permanent, if ſo dangerous a ſub-"ject as the lord chamberlain remained alive: whom "neither rewards could ſoften, nor honours and pre-"ferment oblige and make conſtant. How many "times had he been pardoned? How often, and with-"out a cauſe, had he returned again to his former con-"ſpiracies? Should the governor of his own free will,

"or,

" or, of neceſſity, be moved to return to France, what " would not the boldneſs of this man attempt in his " abſence, which his authority and preſence could ne- " ver curb and keep within compaſs? The life of this " man would be the death and total ruin of the peace, " of the concord and harmony of the ſtate, bring forth " nothing but dangerous and wicked effects; the vio- " lence of ambition having pulled him from his own " judgment. Should he be challenged, and put to a trial " of his peers, he could not ſhun the blow of juſtice, the " cry of his oppreſſion and wrongs having reached " heaven. A member ſo often in vain cured and ſtill " gangrened ſhould be cut off."

The governor, whoſe brains the prior had now embrued with jealouſies, thought it no great matter, upon the informations he had received, to put the chamberlain to a trial; for if he proved not guilty, it would be but to leave him in that ſtate and caſe he was found in; and calumnies though they do not burn, yet blacken. Being come to Edinburgh, he appointed a convention of the nobility, all which time he earneſtly trafficked with the friends of the lord chamberlain that he ſhould not be abſent, the matters to be determined in council concerning him nearly, and he having need of his advice and counſel.

The court and city being full of whiſperings, and expectation of ſome ſudden change, many diſſuaded the chamberlain from appearing; or if he appeared, that he would leave his brother maſter WILLIAM, a man equal in judgment and courage to himſelf, behind. He trained into falſe hopes by the blandiſhments of the governor towards his friends, and inveigled by preſumption, with his brother, and Sir ANDREW, called by the country lord DANDCAR of Farnehaſt, cometh to court, where they were with many ceremonies welcomed by the governor, with more than ordinary favours entertained, and ſhortly after all three impriſoned, produced in judgment to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt them according to the laws of the kingdom, and ſubmitted to the ſentence of a jury. No new crime was laid to their charge; JAMES earl of Murray, the natural ſon of the late king, accuſed the chamber-

lain of the death of his father: who by many witneſſes was proved alive, and ſeen to have come from the battle of Flowden. This by pregnant evidences not being proved, he was indicted of divers other points of treaſon: and his private faults were found out and laid againſt him: they renew the memory of the late ſtirs of ſtate, and theſe diſorders, of which he was either the author, or acceſſory to them. He had favoured and maintained the factions, theſts and robberies of wicked malefactors on the borders: he had not honourably nor honeſtly carried himſelf at the battle of Flowden, performing neither the duty of a ſoldier nor commander. He had ſuffered the Engliſh to repair, and of new fortify the caſtle of Norham, which without either trouble to himſelf, or danger to his friends, he might have hindered. Of every of which points and particularities he not clearly juſtifying himſelf, the judges, prepared and directed by the governor (whom they record to have given information of a hainous crime committed by the chamberlain and his brother, for the odiouſneſs of it not to be revealed to the people) pronounce him and his brother guilty, and condemn them to have their heads cut off. The day following, the ſentence was put in execution, and their heads fixed on the moſt eminent part of the town of Edinburgh. DAND CAR of Farnehaſt, either by the jury, being declared not guilty, as ſome have recorded, or by the corrupting of his keepers, as others, or by the permiſſion of the governor, eſcaped this danger; which brought the people to believe the chamberlain was by his means entrapped, to ſink whom he put himſelf in hazard of drowning.

This calamity of the family of the HUMES, being ſo ancient, potent and couragious, bred terror and aſtoniſhment in many of the other noblemen of the kingdom, and eſtranged their hearts from the governor; his ears began to be after attentive to every rumour, and his eyes pried into each accident: at laſt, as if he were wearied with wreſtling with the many diſorders, and cumberſome factions of the country, he ſought how by ſome fair way he might for a while return to France. Ambaſſadors being ſent from king FRANCIS to Scotland to renew the ancient league between the two nations,

tions, when the nobles aſſembled to make choice of the man, on whom they ſhould transfer the honour of the accompliſhment of ſo ſolemn an action, and paſs to France, the governor carried the matter ſo, by means of the French, that it was conferred on himſelf, but with this condition, to entertain them with hopes of his return, that he ſhould not ſtay above ſix months out of the country. Having obtained this privileged abſence of them, his next care was to preſerve the ſtate from any alterations till his return, and to find the government as he had left it. Hereupon, to preſerve the perſon of the king, he is conveyed from Stirling to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and truſted to the cuſtody of the earl Mariſhal, the lords RUTHVEN and BORTHWICK, two of which ſhould always reſide with him, and accompany and aſſiſt the lord ERSKINE, his conſtant and unremoveable guardian. For the government of the ſtate he leaveth ſeven deputies in his place, the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, Argyle, the arch-biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow; to theſe is joined Sir ANTHONY DARCEY le Sieur de la Beauté, whom he had made captain of Dunbar, and promoted to be, in the lord HUME's place, warden of the Eaſt marches, keeping the days of truce and juſtice-courts. This was the man to whom the intire conduct of all the governor's affairs was intruſted, and who ſhould give him advertiſement of what did paſs in Scotland, during his abode in France. That no diſcord ſhould ariſe amongſt men equal in places and authority, the ordinary occaſion of diviſion, ſeveral ſhires which they ſhould govern to every one of them are allotted. To Sir ANTHONY DARCEY was deſtined the government of the Merſe and Lothian; to the other their ſhires were appointed, as the convenience of their dwelling-places, friends and kindred did afford them. Under pretexts and fair colours of honour, and as to paſs the time, and be trained in French civility, alſo for the greater magnificence, the governor took in his company the earl of Lenox, the Lord GORDON, maſters of Glencairn and Arran, and other young lords; who in effect were ſo many hoſtages, that no ſtir, by their parents, kindred, or friends, ſhould be raiſed during his abſence. He likewiſe under dark

ſhadows and far-ſought pretences committed to ſuch caſtles as were garriſoned with French ſoldiers, as Dunbarton, Dunbar, Garvet, certain barons of the South and Weſt countries, who wanted nothing but liberty, nor for any thing they had done, but what they might do, the governor being out of the kingdom. Matters brought to ſuch a paſs as his beſt politicians could deviſe, accompanied with Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS biſhop of Dunkeld, and Mr. PATRICK PANTHER, ſecretary to the late king, men whom he feared to leave behind him, and entertained, though he knew they loved him not, as his boſom friends, in June at Dunbarton he took ſhipping.

Queen MARGARET, after ſhe had remained a year in England, underſtanding by letters that the governor had taken the ſeas, and was on his way towards France, honourably diſmiſſed by her brother, came to Scotland. At Berwick ſhe was received by her husband the earl of Angus; but he was not accepted with the favours he was wont; for that plague of too much love, jealouſy, had infected her, having gotten ſome inkling that he delighted in the pleaſures of a free bed, and, during the time of her abode in England, had entertained a miſtreſs in Douglas-dale, an injury beyond degree of reconcilement, after which ſhe began to diſdain him, and ſeek how ſhe might be divorced from him. Though, whilſt the king was kept in the caſtle of Edinburgh, all acceſs unto him was refuſed her, when he was tranſported to the caſtle of Craigmillar, out of a ſuſpicion and rumour that the plague had infeſted Edinburgh, by the courteſy of the lord ERSKINE, ſhe had liberty to viſit him; but her frequent haunting him out of too much motherly kindneſs, breeding a ſuſpicion in his guardians, that, as had once before been practiſed by a queen in Scotland, ſhe had an intention to have ſtoln him away, and ſend him to his uncle, reſtrained her longer acceſs unto him, and procured his return back again to the caſtle of Edinburgh.

Sir ANTHONY DARCEY having, by his vigilance, pains, and courage, given many proofs of his worth, in defence of the borders, and adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe ſhires he governed; the other governors, often

diſagreeing

diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, either out of love of reſt, and to be vacant from buſineſs, or out of malice to procure him greater hatred, declare him abſolute deputy: and they gave their promiſes to ſecond him in way of juſtice. And here he found the difference between extreams and mediocrities. Many diſdained a ſtranger ſhould be in that place, ſo many brave men of their nation being neglected. A quarrel at that time, either true and real, or, as others have recorded, altogether forged and contrived to draw the deputy into a danger, ariſing between the curators of the laird of Langton, and one of his uncles, who by the power and means of Sir DAVID HUME of Wedderburn, whoſe ſiſter was his wife, had thruſt out and ejected the young heir and them of their own caſtle of Langton, and kept it by force: The deputy, accompanied with certain lords of the borders, and ſome French men his own domeſtics, came to the town of Duns, to hold a juſtice-court concerning this riot. The HUMES, who thought nothing juſter than revenge, nor nobler than the effects of anger, having ſworn a requital of their chief's wrong, and to pay the governor home, when occaſion ſhould be offered, by the council and forwardneſs of Sir DAVID HUME, lay an ambuſh, and ly in wait for the deputy. The plot not failing, they invade him at ſuch a diſadvantage, that ſome of his ſervants being killed, he was conſtrained to ſeek an eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe; who, in the chaſe either falling or ſinking in a mariſh, left his maſter to the cruelty of his purſuers, who ſtruck off his head; and, to feed their eyes with the ſpectacle of their rage, ſet it, to the diſgrace of the French, on the battlements of the caſtle of Hume. This end had Sir ANTHONY DARCEY, who deſerved ſo well both of France and Scotland, having been courteous, valiant and noble in all his actions, and a great adminiſtrator of juſtice, who ſpared no travel, and freely adventured upon any dangers to ſuppreſs malefactors, and defend the weak and innocent.

The governors, that greater miſchief ſhould not follow the boldneſs of theſe men, made choice of the earl of Arran to reſiſt their outrage, and declare him warden of the marches and ſupream. Which election diſ-

pleaſed the earl of Angus. The earl of Arran armed with power, neglecting Angus his intereſt, immediately committed Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and MARK KER of Ceſford in Garvet caſtle, out of a ſuſpicion, that they were acceſſory to the ſlaughter of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY. In a parliament, ſhortly following, many of the HUMES, and COCKBURNS, fugitives for this ſlaughter, and for that they had invited the Engliſh to their aid, and ſpoil of the country, are declared rebels. The parliament being diſſolved, the earl of Arran, with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, and ſome great ordnance, beſieged the caſtles of Hume and Langton, and had them rendered to his mercy.

When the accident of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY was noiſed at the court of France, king FRANCIS is recorded to have ſaid, "That he never looked for better at the "hands of the Scots, and that the duke of Albany ſhould "have deputed men of their own nation to have governed them, and not a ſtranger, being a people de"lighting in miſgovernment, ever well pleaſed at the "falls and tragical ends of their rulers, and joying to "ſee any hard hap happen to them they deem happy."

The biſhop of Dunkeld, who had accompanied the governor to France, uſed ſuch diligence at that court, that he was employed to be the firſt meſſenger to the country of the great promiſes and many ceremonies of the French, at the confirmation of the league, with their proteſtations, for the preſerving and maintaining the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland againſt all who would eſſay to impair them. Not long after arrived the earl of Lenox and an herald, with letters from king FRANCIS and the governor, amplifying and putting a larger gloſs on the ſame. But when, by other letters, the queen and nobles had received certain intelligence that king FRANCIS and the king of England had compoſed their quarrels, entered in a new band of amity, a defenſive league being paſſed between them, Tournay rendered to the French, promiſes upon either ſide ſolemnly made for a match to be between the Dauphine of France, eldeſt ſon to king FRANCIS, and the eldeſt daughter of HENRY king of England, when age ſhould enable

enable them for marriage; and that in the large treaty of peace, not one word was ſet down for the quietneſs and help of thoſe who for the quarrel of France had loſt their king, and endangered their whole kingdom; no care being taken of their welfare and proſperity; they ſtormed not a little, and thought their lives and travels ill employed. Then, with as great haſte as ſuch a matter required, they diſpatched letters back again to the governor, blotted with complaints and expoſtulations. The year following, to excuſe his overſight, the French king ſent a reaſon, why he had not made mention of the Scotiſh nation in his league with England, which was, that "He had ſtudied to give ſatisfaction and content-"ment to ſome of the Scotiſh nobility, obliquely touch-"ing the duke of Albany, whoſe minds he knew to be "altogether averſe from any peace or truce with the "Engliſh nation; whoſe undaunted ſpirits, and great "courage were only bent to revenge the deaths of their "king, kinſmen and compatriots." This evaſion not giving ſatisfaction to the beſt adviſed of the council, the French king interpoſed his endeavours with king HENRY to have a ceſſation of arms, for as ſhort a time as he could deviſe. Whereupon CLARENCIEUX and one LA FIOT, coming to Scotland, the one from the king of England, the other from the French king, a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms for one year and a whole day. The reaſon of this truce was thought moſtly to be, for that the kings of England, and France, the next ſummer, all impediments being removed, were to have an interview, and with all princely courteſies, receive and entertain each other.

The kingdom in ſundry quarters began to be ſenſible of the abſence of the governor, factions increaſing, and deadly feuds daily ariſing, the commons ſuffering continual outrages, and the nobility and gentry deciding their rights and quarrels by their ſwords. The earl of Rothes and the lord LINDSAY contending which ſhould be ſheriff of Fife, with tumultuary arms on the high ſtreet of Edinburgh invade each other, and hardly by the deputies were reſtrained, till the one was committed to the caſtle of Dunbar, and the other to the caſtle of Dunbarton. ROBERT BLACKADER prior of Cold-

ingham, with ſix of his domeſtic ſervants, is killed by the laird of Wedderburn. The king, out of a ſuſpicion that the plague was in Edinburgh, being tranſported to the caſtle of Dalkeith by convoy of the earl of Arran, who was then provoſt of the town: it being the ſeaſon when the townſmen make election of their magiſtrates for the year following; when the earl was returned, and ſought to enter the town, he found the gates ſhut upon him by the citizens, who alleged he came to invade their liberties in the free choice of their magiſtrates, having an intention to continue himſelf in his place, and make choice of the other according to his own pleaſure. The tumult continueth the moſt part of the night, and the next morning early the people dividing into factions, and ſkirmiſhing in the ſtreets, a deacon of the crafts is killed by the faction of the HAMILTONS, which alienated the minds of the townſmen altogether from the earl of Arran, and made them incline to the earl of Angus, ſome of whoſe friends and followers had reſcued ſome of the citizens, and taken part with others; which made many after conceive this diſcord was plotted by ſome noblemen, enemies to the earl of Arran, amongſt which the earl of Angus was the chief.

After this tumult, the earls of Angus and Arran ſought always to croſs each other in their proceedings; the one maintaining the enemies of the other: who had a quarrel againſt the earl of Arran, the earl of Angus befriended him, as the earl of Arran ſupported and ſided with thoſe who had any diſcontent againſt the earl of Angus. A ſuit falling between the earl of Angus and DAND CAR, laird of Farnehalt, about the ballywick of Jedburgh-foreſt; the lands appertained to the earl, the title and power to ſit judge belonged to the lairds of Farnehaſt. Sir JAMES HAMILTON the natural ſon of the earl of Arran aſſiſted the laird of Farnehaſt; and beſides thoſe who out of good-will, friendſhip, kindred, and vaſſalage, did follow him, he hired forty ſoldiers, ſuch as were found upon the borders, men living upon ſpoil and rapine, to be of his party. The laird of Ceſford, then warden of the marches, who with his counſel and force ſided with the earl of Angus, at the rumour

mour of the approach of Sir JAMES to Jedburgh, encountereth him, and his forty hirelings abandoning him in his greateſt danger; CESFORD killing ſome of his followers, brought him to make uſe of his ſpurs towards the caſtle of Hume, where after a long chaſe he got ſanctuary. The day following the laird of Farnehaſt held a court in the town of Jedburgh, as bailly to the earl of Angus, and the earl himſelf kept his court three miles diſtant in Jedburgh foreſt. In the month of May after, certain noblemen aſſembled at Edinburgh to accomodate all quarrels, and make an atonement between the DOUGLASSES and HAMILTONS. Many lords of the Weſt here meet, attending the earl of Arran, the earls of Lenox, Eglinton, Caſſils, the lords ROSS, SEMPLE, the biſhop of Galloway, abbot of Paſley, *etc.* The provoſt of the town of Edinburgh ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS of Kilſpyndie, uncle or couſin-german to the earl of Angus, yielded up his place to ROBERT LOGAN laird of Reſtalrig. The lords of the Weſt, by the advice of JAMES BEATON chancellor, in whoſe houſe they often aſſembled, laid a plot to ſurprize the earl of Angus, then attended but by ſome few of his friends, and as it were very ſolitary. They thought him too great and inſolent a ſubject, to whoſe power never one of theirs alone was equal in all points, and they had many things to challenge him upon, when the governor ſhould return. The earl of Angus, forewarned of their intention, employed the biſhop of Dunkeld his uncle to offer them what honourable ſatisfaction they could require. All that he propoſed being rejected by implacable men, and finding the only way to be freed of violence to be violent, and that danger could not be avoided but by a greater danger, with a hundred hardy, reſolute men, armed with long ſpears and pikes, which the citizens, as he traverſed the ſtreets, out of windows furniſhed him, he inveſted a part of the town, and barricadoed ſome lanes with carts and other impediments which the time did afford. The adverſe party truſting to their number, and the ſupply of the citizens (who calling to mind the ſlaughter of their deacon, ſhew them ſmall favour) diſdaining the earl ſhould thus muſter on the ſtreets, in great fury invade him. Whilſt the bickering

ering continued, and the town is in a tumult, WILLIAM DOUGLAS, brother to the earl of Angus, Sir DAVID HUME of Wedderburn, GEORGE HUME brother to the late lord, with many others by blood and friendſhip tied together, enter by violence the Eaſt gate of the town, the citizens making ſmall reſiſtance, force their paſſage through the throngs, ſeek the earl's enemies, find them, and ſcour the ſtreets of them. The maſter of MONTGOMERY eldeſt ſon to the earl of Eglinton, Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, with almoſt fourſcore more, are left dead upon the place. The earl himſelf findeth an eſcape and place of retreat through a mariſh upon the North ſide of the town; the chancellor and his retinue took ſanctuary in the Dominican friars. The tumult by the ſlaughter of ſome and flight of others, being appeaſed, the earl of Angus, now freed of danger, licenſed all who pleaſed, without further purſuit, peaceably to leave the town of Edinburgh, and return to their own houſes. Some days after, the HUMES well banded and backed with many nobles and gentlemen of their lineage, by the earl of Angus's conſent, took the lord HUME's and his brother's heads from the place where they had been fixed, and with the funeral rites of thoſe times interred them in the Black-Friars.

The earl of Angus having gained the people's hearts by his magnificence, wiſdom, courage and liberality, his faction began to bear greateſt ſway in the kingdom. For the continuance of which, the king of England dealt moſt earneſtly with the French king to keep the duke of Albany ſtill in France with him. But the French had contrary deſigns. And when the duke underſtood the great diſcords of the nobility of Scotland, perſons of faction being advanced to places, dangerous immunities being granted to the commons, France and England beginning to be tired of their peace, and preparing for a new war; to curb the Scotiſh factions, and keep the nation in quietneſs within itſelf, by giving the ſubjects other work abroad, whilſt common danger ſhould break off particular diſcords; notwithſtanding the Engliſh ſhips, which lay in wait to take him, after he had been about five years in France, in November he arriv-

ed,

ed, on the Weſt coaſts of Scotland, at a place called Garloch. The governor coming to Edinburgh, ſet himſelf to amend the enormities committed in his abſence; the magiſtrates of the town are depoſed, becauſe in the late uproar they had been evil ſeconds to the lords of the Weſt, when they went to ſurprize the earl of Angus. A parliament is called, to which many noblemen and gentlemen are cited to make appearance in February to be tried, and to anſwer for offences committed by them in the governor's abſence. The appointed time being come, theſe who appeared not, were indicted, and fled into England. Amongſt which, and the chief, were the HUMES and COCKBURNS, men authors of and acceſſory to the death of Sir ANTHONY DARCEY. The tide now turning, and mens affections changed, the earl of Angus, with his brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, by the interceſſion of the queen, are conſtrained to ſeek a pardon: which was obtained for them, but with the condition that they ſhould leave the country, and ſtay in France one whole year, which they obeyed. Others have recorded that they were ſurprized in the night, and in French ſhips conveyed privately away. Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS biſhop of Dunkeld, in the abſence of his nephew, finding the governor violent in the chace of the faction of the DOUGLASSES, fled privately to the court of England, where he gave informations to king HENRY againſt him. "He alone "had taken to him the cuſtody of the young king, the "ſequel whereof he much feared; he was an irreconcileable enemy to the whole family of the DOUGLASSES. The principal cauſe of his coming to Scotland, was to engage the nation in a war againſt England, that the Engliſh ſhould not aſſiſt the emperor againſt the French king, and make his nation ſlaves to France."

This biſhop ſhortly after died at London, and was buried in the Savoy church: having been a man noble, valiant, learned, and an excellent poet, as his works yet extant teſtify.

The king of England, upon ſuch informations, ſent CLARENCIEUX, king of arms, to Scotland, to require the duke to avoid the country, according to the articles agreed

agreed upon between the French king and him in their laſt truce.

" It belonged, ſaid CLARENCIEUX, to his maſter " to tender the life, welfare, honour, and fortunes of " his nephew, of none of which he could be aſſured, ſo " long as the duke ruled and ſtayed in Scotland. It " was againſt all reaſon, and unbeſeeming, that the " man ſhould be ſole guardian to a king, who was the " next heir to the crown: how eaſily might he be " tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatur- " al cruelty, which ſome have done in the like caſe " both in England and other parts of Europe? If he " loved his nation and prince, as he gave out, he re- " quired him to leave the country, which if he yield " not unto, but obſtinately continued in a reſolution " to ſtay, he denounced from his maſter preſent war." He farther complained, " That the earl of Angus, who " was king HENRY's brother-in-law, was by him ba- " niſhed and detained in France; that during the ba- " niſhment of the earl, which had been near a whole " year, the duke had importuned his ſiſter the queen " with diſhoneſt love."

The governor anſwered CLARENCIEUX, " That " what the kings of France and England agreed upon " in their treaties of peace was to him uncertain; but " of this he was moſt certain, that neither the king of " England nor France had power to baniſh him (a ſo- " reigner over whom their authority did not reach) " his native country; like over like having no juriſ- " diction.

" As concerning the king of Scotland, who was yet " young in years, he reverenced him as his ſovereign " lord, and would keep and defend both him and his " kingdom according to his conſcience, honour and " bound duty; that there were ever more men in " the world who deſired to be kings, than there were " kingdoms to be beſtowed upon them, of which num- " ber he was none, having ever preferred a mean eſtate " juſtly enjoyed, before a kingdom ill acquired. For " the earl of Angus, he had uſed all courteſies towards " him, notwithſtanding his evil demerits, not for his " own ſake, he did confeſs, but for the queen's ſake,

" whom

"whom he honoured and reſpected as the mother of "his prince, and towards whom he ſhould always con-"tinue his obſervance. That the king of England "needed not miſdoubt, he would attempt any thing "ſhould derogate from the honour of his ſiſter; that "compliments of meer courteſy in France, might be "ſurmiſed ſometimes by Engliſh ladies to be ſollicita-"tions and ſuits of love.

"For the war, with which, in caſe of his ſtay, he "threatened his nation, he would uſe his beſt endea-"vours to ſet his compatriots in a poſture of defence."

When this anſwer was reported to king HENRY, he gathered a great army to invade Scotland, and eſſay, if, by their own dangers, the Scots people could be moved to abandon and diſclaim the duke's authority. Seven great ſhips came to Inch-Keith, and ſpoiled all the adjacent coaſts: all the Scots and French, which did then inhabit London, and other places of England, were put to their fines, and commanded to go off the country.

In compenſation and for equal amends, the French king ſeized all Engliſhmens goods in Bourdeaux, impriſoned their perſons, and retained the mony to be paid for the reſtitution of Tournay. The earl of Shrewsbury making incurſions on the borders, burned the one half of Kelſo, and plundered the other.

At this time the emperor CHARLES V. came to England, and ſtirred up king HENRY to take arms againſt the French king; and the French had ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland, intreating and conjuring the Scots by their old and new league to ariſe in arms and invade England. The governor aſſembled the three eſtates at Edinburgh, which together condeſcended to the raiſing of an army to reſiſt the incurſions of the Engliſh, and defend the kingdom. To encourage every man for fighting, the wards of thoſe which ſhould fall in this expedition, were freely remitted and diſcharged by act of parliament, and penſions deſigned to the widows and daughters of thoſe who died in this ſervice. This empirick balm could the French apply to cure the wounds of the Scotiſh commonwealth.

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agreed upon between the French king and him in their laſt truce.

" It belonged, ſaid CLARENCIEUX, to his maſter " to tender the life, welfare, honour, and fortunes of " his nephew, of none of which he could be aſſured, ſo " long as the duke ruled and ſtayed in Scotland. It " was againſt all reaſon, and unbeſeeming, that the " man ſhould be ſole guardian to a king, who was the " next heir to the crown: how eaſily might he be " tempted by opportunity to commit the like unnatur- " al cruelty, which ſome have done in the like caſe " both in England and other parts of Europe? If he " loved his nation and prince, as he gave out, he re- " quired him to leave the country, which if he yield " not unto, but obſtinately continued in a reſolution " to ſtay, he denounced from his maſter preſent war." He farther complained, " That the earl of Angus, who " was king HENRY's brother-in-law, was by him ba- " niſhed and detained in France; that during the ba- " niſhment of the earl, which had been near a whole " year, the duke had importuned his ſiſter the queen " with diſhoneſt love."

The governor anſwered CLARENCIEUX, " That " what the kings of France and England agreed upon " in their treaties of peace was to him uncertain; but " of this he was moſt certain, that neither the king of " England nor France had power to baniſh him (a fo- " reigner over whom their authority did not reach) " his native country; like over like having no juriſ- " diction.

" As concerning the king of Scotland, who was yet " young in years, he reverenced him as his ſovereign " lord, and would keep and defend both him and his " kingdom according to his conſcience, honour and " bound duty; that there were ever more men in " the world who deſired to be kings, than there were " kingdoms to be beſtowed upon them, of which num- " ber he was none, having ever preferred a mean eſtate " juſtly enjoyed, before a kingdom ill acquired. For " the earl of Angus, he had uſed all courteſies towards " him, notwithſtanding his evil demerits, not for his " own ſake, he did confeſs, but for the queen's ſake,

" whom

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The earl of Shrewsbury advancing, as was reported, toward the weſt borders, an army was far gathered, and encamped on Roſlin-Moor, which after, according to the orders given, marched to Annandale forwards, and came to the Eſk, a river running into the Iriſh ſeas near Carliſle. The governor delighted with the ſeat and ſtanding of the place, cauſed dig trenches, and, by the advice of certain French gunners, placed ſome field-pieces, and ſmall ordnance for defence of them, and ſpread there his pavilions. The citizens of Carliſle, terrified at the ſudden approach of ſo powerful an army, offer many preſents for the ſafety of their town, which he rejected. The Engliſh army not minding to invade the Scots ſo long as they kept themſelves on their own ground, and advanced not, the governor endeavoured to make the Scots ſpoil the country by incurſions, but he findeth them ſlack and unwilling to obey and follow him, moſt part refuſing to go upon Engliſh ground, amongſt whom ALEXANDER lord GORDON was the chief and firſt man. The governor finding his command neglected, and ſome noblemen diſſenting from what he moſt intended, cometh back to the place where they made their ſtand, and deſires a reaſon of their ſtay. They told him, "They had determined to defend their "own country, not to invade England That it nei-"ther conſiſted with the weal of the commonwealth, "nor as matters went at that time, had they ſufficient "forces to make invaſive war: that the governor did "not inſtigate them to invade England for the love he "carried to Scotland, but for a benefit to the French, "by diverting the war prepared by the Engliſh againſt "them. That by invading they might make them-"ſelves a prey to their enemies; they were men and "not angels; it was enough for them, whilſt their king "was under age, to defend his kingdom from the vio-"lence of foreigners. Put the caſe they were in one "battle victorious, conſidering the ſlaughter and loſs of "their nobles and gentry in that purchaſe, they might "be overthrown in a ſecond fight; and then to what "would the king and country be reduced? their laſt "king might ſerve them for a pattern, the revenge of

"whoſe

" whoſe death ſhould be delayed till the king himſelf " were of years to undertake it."

The governor brought to an exigent, ſaid, " They " ſhould have propoſed theſe difficulties before they " took arms, and on the place of battle. Temerity " misbecame noblemen in any action, but eſpecially in " matters of war, in which a man cannot err twice. " At the convention of the three eſtates, when war was " in deliberation, they ſhould have inquired for the " cauſes of it; he was not to bring them upon the dan- " ger of a war without their own conſent. The Eng- " liſh had made many incurſions upon their country, " burning and ravaging: they who ſtand only upon de- " fence, ſtand upon no defence; a better defence of " their own country could not be found than by invad- " ing the country of their enemies. They ſhould not " be dejected for that accident at Flowden, ſince it was " not the fault of the ſoldier, but the treaſon of their " chamberlain, who had ſuffered for it. That the glo- " ry of the nation ſhould raiſe their courages, and in- " flame their boſoms with a deſire of revenge: the king's " honour, and their piety towards the ghoſts of their " compatriots, craved no leſs from them. That, if " they would not invade England, at leaſt, for their " reputation and fame with the world, they would " pitch there a ſhort time their tents, and try if the " Engliſh would hazard to aſſail them. That it would " be an everlaſting branding their honour, if ti- " morouſly in a ſuddenneſs they ſhow their backs to " their enemies, and dared them not in the face by " ſome days ſtay."

The queen though abſent, had thus perſuaded the noblemen; and having underſtood the governor to be turned now flexible, ſhe diſpatched a poſt to him, requeſting he would be pleaſed with a truce for ſome months, and that he would commune with the warden of the Engliſh marches, whom ſhe ſhould move to come to his tent and treat with him. The governor finding that he ſtood not well aſſured of ſome of his army, and knowing what a cumberſome taſk it was to withſtand the violence of their deſires, determined to follow their own current, and ſeemed well pleaſed to hearken to their opinion.

opinion. Hereupon the lord DACRES, warden of the Weſt marches, came unto the governor's camp the eleventh of September, and, as ſome have recorded, the queen alſo, where a ceſſation of arms was agreed unto for ſome days, in which time the queen and the governor ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to treat for a peace with king HENRY: and ſhortly after ambaſſadors were directed to the court of England, but returned without any good done, king HENRY demanding extraordinary and harmful conditions to the realm of Scotland.

The year 1522. ANDREW FORMAN, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, died, and JAMES BEATON arch-biſhop of Glaſgow and chancellor of the kingdom came in his place of St. Andrews. The arch-biſhopric of Glaſgow was conferred upon GAVIN DUNBAR, whom the king after advanced to be chancellor of the kingdom.

The governor reſenting highly the ſlighting of the ambaſſadors by the king of England, but more the contempt and ſcorn of the Scotiſh nobility in refuſing to follow him, in October by the Weſt ſeas paſſed over to France, promiſing, that if a peace in this mean time were not concluded with England, he would the next ſummer bring ſuch warlike brigades of French and Germans, that he ſhould not ſtand much in need of his own country-men, who had continued ſo refractory and backward to his deſigns. He demanded from king FRANCIS five thouſand German horſemen, and ten thouſand foot to be tranſported to Scotland; which with the Scots who would accompany him, he thought ſufficient to continue a war with England. The French could not ſpare ſo many men, having wars both with the emperor and the Engliſh, but they gave him three thouſand pikes, and one thouſand launces. The governor intending to return to Scotland, receiving intelligence that the ports towards the coaſts of France were watched by the Engliſh to intrap him in his paſſage, beſtowed his ſhips ſo covertly here and there in ſmall companies to avoid all ſuſpicion of any purpoſe he had to ſtir that year, as that thereupon the Engliſh fleet under the conduct of Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS,

LIAMS, which had attended and waited his coming forth, until the midſt of Auguſt, brake up, and beſtowed themſelves in convenient ports againſt the next ſpring. The duke then watching the opportunity, and readily gathering together his diſperſed ſhips, to the number of ſome fifty ſail, embarked his men at Breſt in Bretaign, the one and twenty of September, and landed at Kircudbright, or the iſle of Arran, in the Weſt of Scotland. In his company was RICHARD DE LA POOL who had been baniſhed England, and to his power faithfully aſſiſted the governor. He arrived the ſame time that Jedburgh was burnt by the Engliſh; for THOMAS earl of Surrey, high admiral of England, the marqueſs of Dorſet and his brother, with a competent power entering Scotland, had burnt many towns, and overthrown caſtles and piles.

At his coming, the duke aſſembled the lords at Edinburgh, where they agreed that an army ſhould forthwith be gathered, and the 28th of October was appointed for their meeting at Douglas-dale. At the day prefixed, the army marched towards Coldſtream upon the Tweed. Out of this army the governor having ſelected a number of the hardieſt ſoldiers of Scots and French, and convoying ſome artillery over the water, under the command of DAND CAR of Farnehaſt, on the laſt of October they beſieged the caſtle of Wark, which was defended by EDWARD LILLY or LILE. The aſſailants upon the utmoſt ward continuing their battery, entered by main force the ſecond ward; but being there repulſed and beaten back, a great tempeſt ariſing, and fearing the ſwelling of the river of Tweed might cut them off from their army on the other ſide, they turned back and repaſſed the water: the report of the earl of Surrey's forces coming to reſcue the caſtle, and lying at Anwick, had alſo perplexed them not a little. The earl of Surrey, at his approach, finding the enemy retired to the other ſide of the river, the caſtle ſafe, and having no commiſſion to paſs the Engliſh marches, or to invade Scotland, made no further purſuit. In the mean time the queen, who had ever ſought to make firm friendſhip with her brother, and break the amity of France, ſent to him to yield to a ceſſation of war,

hoping

hoping in that time to work ſome agreement between the two nations. Whereunto the king conſenting, the governor finding the Scotiſh lords averſe to his intentions, that he was this time ſerved as he had been before, they refuſing ſtill to enter upon England, and that ſtriving would but the more chaſe them, alſo condeſcended. Thus a truce was promiſed, and faithful peace obſerved till the laſt of November, being the feaſt of St. Andrew: the winter paſſed without any invaſion of the Engliſh on Scotland, or the Scots on England.

During the time of this truce, many ſerious conſultations were amongſt the lords of Scotland, whether it were more fit to continue this war, or give it over. Many of them held it unreaſonable that for the only pleaſure of the French king, the realm of Scotland ſhould ſuffer any more damage by the continuing of ſo needleſs a war: and finding that the duke of Albany was always ſet to perform what the French deſired, not what was expedient for the Scotiſh nation, nor what was in their power to accompliſh; they therefore wiſhed that their young king, now having attained ſome years of diſcretion, and paſſing the age of a child, might bear ſome ſway in the government of the realm. Some argued, "That a king ſooner than the ſons of noblemen "went out of the bondage of tutelage, and enjoyed "greater immunities, his age often being reckoned from "the time of his conception. That the adminiſtration "and charge of the kingdom ſhould early be given him, "that he might with his years grow in the art of go-"verning; ſince we find the ſame to be uſual in the "perfection of other arts and ſciences." Others entertained other thoughts, "That to a child, who could "not by the weakneſs of his judgment diſcern right "from wrong, the helm of ſtate ſhould not be truſted, "and that the peers of the kingdom might be challeng-"ed of dotage by their neighbour countries, for giving "to a child the ſword of juſtice, which he might thruſt "in their own entrails one day, or wound therewith the "boſom of the commonwealth."

The governor finding the lords divided amongſt themſelves, and their reaſons averſe to his intentions, and that not only the people, but the ſoldiery were weary of

of him, and had bent their affections upon their young king, fooliſhly preferring the ignorance and ſimplicity of a child to his prudence, experience, and long practice of ſtate, requeſted them to give him leave to return to France, and to forgive him any error he had committed, which he proteſted was of ignorance, not of malice. Having from men diſtaſted with him, without any oppoſition, obtained what he required, far from any outward ſhew of inward diſcontentment, or diſquieting himſelf at the ingratitude of ſome whom he had advanced to honours, he came to Stirling, where, after ſome days ſtay with the king, when he had given him ſuch inſtructions of ſtate, as he was able to underſtand, for he was but then in the thirteenth year of his age, with many tokens of love, and demonſtrations of ſincere affection, he took his leave of him: and his ſhips attending his paſſage on the weſt, with a great retinue of Scots and French, he held his way towards them, and recommended himſelf to the ſea in the ſpring time, now the third time for France; after which he returned not at all into Scotland.

He was a prince adorned with many virtues, active, couragious, reſolute, and knew how to uſe men as they are.

If he had not been oppoſed by the queen and nobility, he was likely either to have loſt himſelf and the whole kingdom, or revenged the death of his couſin.

His courteous nature went above his ambition; he could as well lay down his honours, as he had modeſtly, when they were laid upon him, received them.

Before the rumour of the duke of Albany's taking the ſeas was ſpread abroad, the king of England by ſecret letters had required the earl of Angus, who then an exile ſtaid in France, to come to him: after the receipt of which, with a ſhort leave-taking he left France, where he had ſtayed almoſt three years, and cometh to England. King HENRY had brought him to believe, that the duke had determined to extirpate his whole lineage: To prevent which he made him offer of men and ammunition to preſerve his own, and by his faction at home, and his aſſiſtance, to ſend the duke over ſeas; which,

which, if he had longer ſtayed, the earl was eſteemed powerful enough to have accompliſhed.

The duke of Albany being in France, the queen with the government of the ſtate, aſſumeth the cuſtody of the perſon of her ſon, whom ſhe moved to leave Stirling and come to Edinburgh. The third day after he had made his entry into the town, ſhe lodged with him in the Maiden Caſtle, and it being ſeized on, armed with authority, ſhe doubted not to make the country yield her all obedience. That the ſupreme magiſtrate of the town ſhould not oppoſe her deſigns, he is put from his office, and the lord MAXWELL, a man to her obſequious, is ſubſtituted in his place.

To give the fairer luſtre to her actions, a parliament is called at Edinburgh, that what ſhe did, might conſiſt with law.

When king HENRY underſtood the duke had left Scotland, to exclude and bar him all regreſs, he ſent one MAGNUS, a great orator, but greater by the renown of his ſkill in the laws, with ROGER RATCLIFF, his ambaſſadors, to try how the Scots, amidſt ſuch unneceſſary turmoils, would reliſh a truce and ceſſation of arms: and theſe lay the blame of all the diſorders and diſcords between the two nations, upon the duke. The nobles tired with their tedious wars, beginning to eſpy a haven of reſt, chearfully accept of this embaſſy, and agree upon a truce for one whole year. To confirm which they condeſcend that commiſſioners ſhall be diſpatched inſtantly, who ſhall treat not only for a truce, but for a firm and laſting peace between the two nations, and unite the two crowns in bands of amity, as well as they were united in degrees of blood.

The earl of Angus, his enemy abandoning the kingdom, after honourable entertainment of the king of England, many promiſes to befriend him, and blandiſhments at his departing, cometh to Scotland; and his return began to change the game of ſtate. The queen's and earl of Arran's faction carried all matters of importance; the earls of Lenox, ARGYLE, and the HUMES had been ſequeſtered from public employments: the firſt faction by his preſence find their power diminiſhed; the other by his counterpoiſe and aſſiſtance have new hopes

hopes of ariſing; both factions diſliked that Angus ſhould ariſe to the firſt place, and ſuſpected he would not be content with the ſecond; they loved to have him an equal, not ſupreme.

Private jars ſmothered and intereſts delayed, matters concerning England requiring a haſty and preſent diſpatch, GILBERT earl of Caſſils, ROBERT COCKBURN biſhop of Dunkeld, ALEXANDER MILL abbot of Cambuſkenneth, are ſent commiſſioners to the court of England. At Greenwich they are honourably and kindly received by king HENRY, whoſe countenance promiſed them a refuſal of no reaſonable thing they would require. The biſhop had a ſpeech, the ſum of which was,

"That, diſſention and hatred taken away between "the two nations, a faithful peace might be agreed un- "to and confirmed, their diſcords turned into union, "their rancour into love; which to bring to paſs and "make durable, the only apparent and probable means, "were to beſtow the lady MARY, the king's daughter, "upon JAMES the young king of Scotland."

The Engliſh with great joy applauded what was ſaid: and king HENRY appointed certain commiſſioners to treat about that purpoſe in private. Theſe when they had met to advance the union of the kingdoms, deſired theſe conditions.

Firſt, "That the Scotiſh nation giving over, and fair- "ly forſaking the league they had with France, ſhould "enter into a new league with them, upon the ſame "conditions and terms which were contained in their "league with France.

Next, "That the young king of Scotland, till by age "he was able for marriage, ſhould be brought up at the "court of England."

When the ambaſſadors of Scotland had anſwered, "That theſe conditions were above their commiſſion, to "which they could not well anſwer," and deſired a time to acquaint the council of Scotland with them; it was condeſcended unto. Thus two of them remaining at London, the earl of Caſſils returned to Scotland to bring back an anſwer.

When

When the day, in which the parliament ſhould have been held, was come, the queen and they who were of her faction, as the earls of Arran, Murray, and Eglinton, fearing the earl of Angus might turn the wavering people's affection, and move them to ſome revolt, which might hinder their determinations, or terrify the commiſſioners by the frequent convention of his friends and followers, conſtraining their voices, and reſtraining their freedom of ſpeech; or that they had a plot to ſurprize ſome of the contrary faction, and by authority of parliament commit them in that place, cauſed a proclamation to be made, "That none of the three eſtates ſhould "ſit or aſſemble themſelves in the town of Edinburgh, "but that they ſhould keep their meeting in the caſtle, "and there give their preſence." The earls of Angus, Lenox, Argyle, arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, biſhops of Aberdeen and Dunblain, with their adherents, and others, who joined with them rather out of fear than good-will, refuſe to enter the caſtle, and require, "That the parliament be kept in the accuſtomed place, and that the "king may in triumph be ſhewn to his own people, and "convoyed along the high-ſtreet." All which being denied them; giving out, "That juſtice was violated, "the king kept againſt his will as a priſoner, and the "government and cuſtody of his perſon ſeized on without conſent of the three eſtates;" they ſurround the caſtle with two thouſand men in arms, and ſtop all furniture of food and victuals, which ſhould have been afforded by the town. In this diſtreſs they in the caſtle turn the great ordinance againſt the town, and threaten the innocent citizens with the overthrow of their buildings. Some powder and time being ſpent in terrifying the people, at laſt, churchmen interpoſing themſelves, and interceding with and perſuading the parties, an accommodation and atonement is wrought, their fury quenched, all rancour ſuppreſſed, and injuries forgotten, the king in magnificence and pomp is convoyed from the caſtle to his palace at Holy-rood-houſe, and the eſtates aſſemble in the wonted place of the town of Edinburgh.

In this parliament the authority of the governor is abrogated, by which means they ſaved him a labour from

from returning into Scotland again: "Eight lords were "choſen to have the cuſtody of the king's perſon, e- "very one his months ſucceſſively, and the whole to "ſtand for the government of the ſtate; yet with this "limitation, that the king by their counſel ſhould not "determine, nor ordain any thing in great affairs, to "which the queen, as princeſs and dowager, gave not "her free conſent and approbation."

The lords were, the arch-biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the earls of Angus, Arran, Lenox, and Argyle.

Time urging reſolution, the lords of parliament direct the earl of Caſſils again to the court of England to declare their reſolution concerning the marriage of the king, and the eſtabliſhing a peace between the kingdoms.

The news of the overthrow of the French army, and the taking of their king at Pavia, by the Imperialiſts, being come to the court of England, before the arrival of the earl of Caſſils, king HENRY told the Scotiſh ambaſſadors in plain terms, "He could not determine any "thing concerning the marriage of his daughter, with- "out acquainting the emperor her neareſt kinſman, "and his confederate, with his proceedings, which "could not be done in haſte, and ſo ſoon as they re- "quired, conſidering the troubles of Italy."

Hereupon the ambaſſadors, their hopes of this alliance delayed, having obtained a truce between the two nations for the ſpace of three years and three months, faithfully to be kept, returned to their own country.

The ſtate began of new to be toſſed by the troubleſome factions of the queen and the earl of Angus, the original of which ſprang from matters of the church; the abbacy of Holy-rood-houſe falling vacant by the promotion of GEORGE CREIGHTON abbot to the biſhopric of Dunkeld; the earl of Angus, to whom the cuſtody of the king was truſted, either by lot or conſent, moved him to confer this abbacy upon his brother Mr. WILLIAM, prior of Coldingham, without acquainting the queen with the gift, or ſeeking the conſent of the other rulers: at this the queen turned ſo diſpleaſed, that abandoning the king to the pleaſure of the earl of

Angus, ſhe with her followers retired to Stirling. By this inconſiderate retreat the earl adminiſtred all alone, leaning to the greatneſs of his own power, that ſome might have thought the queen ſet her game to make up his. All favours and puniſhments paſs by him, all offices and places of importance are diſtributed to his favourites; he made ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, his uncle, treaſurer, Sir GEORGE, his brother, great chamberlain; the abbacies of Coldingham and Holy-roodhouſe were in his brother's hands; neither temporal nor eccleſiaſtical dignity eſcaped him; his greatneſs inſtantly procureth him envy.

The arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Murray, who were of the queen's faction, lay a plot to accuſe Angus of high treaſon. They challenge him, "That he kept the king againſt his will, "inſolently reſtrained his liberty, and that contrary to "the order eſtabliſhed by the eſtates, which was, that "the cuſtody of his perſon ſhould every four months, "by turns, be allotted to the governors of the country "in a circle; that he could not diſpoſe of any thing of "moment alone; the contrary of all which he had u-"ſurped: whereupon they charge him to diſmiſs the "king, and reſtore him to them, and the other coun-"ſellors, equal in government with him, under the "pain, he ſhould be reputed a traitor and no loyal ſub-"ject, for this invaſſalling his prince to his attend-"ance."

The earl of Angus himſelf to this anſwered not, but Sir GEORGE his brother moved the king to give the anſwer himſelf: "His mother and thoſe other rulers "ſhould not be thus ſolicitous for him; for with none "more chearfully, willingly and contentedly, could he "live and ſpend his time than with the earl of Angus, "neither could he leave the company of one ſo highly "favoured of his uncle, and ſo well meriting of him-"ſelf."

For all this anſwer, he had ſecretly ſent letters to his mother, and thoſe of the adverſe party, intreating, "They would remove him from the earl, and not ſuf-"fer him any longer to remain under his imperious "government, and if it could not be otherwiſe done,

"to

" to accompliſh it by main force of arms, if they had " any pity, or if any ſparks of duty remained unquench- " ed in them towards him, if they dared enterprize " ought for a royal, though now thralled, ſupliant, " or obey the command of a king in priſon; that the " anſwer, which he ſent before unto them and his mo- " ther, was by conſtraint and compulſion drawn from " him, and far from his mind."

Upon this advertiſement, the queen, and they of her faction, aſſemble what power they could raiſe in ſuch a ſuddenneſs at Stirling, and with great expedition march- ed towards Edinburgh to ſeparate the king from the earl his guardian; who, reſolved to repel force by force, with the townſmen of Edinburgh, many friends and ad- herents, and the king, though againſt his will, march- ed out of Edinburgh, to encounter and fight theſe re- bels. When the leaders of the queen's forces under- ſtood the king in perſon was in the adverſe army, ei- ther dazled with the ſplendor of the preſence of a king, or fearing, if they joined in battle, the perſon of their prince might be endangered, or that they found them- ſelves not ſtrong enough in number and arms for a con- flict, they retired back again to Stirling, where they diſ- banded, and returned every man to his own dwelling- place: the queen, with the earl of Murray, went to Mur- ray-land, the earls of Arran and Argyle to the Weſt, the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews to Dunfermline.

This faction being diſſipated, the earl of Angus re- mained more ſtable, and aſſured of his guardianſhip, and now he findeth no competitor.

The want of the great ſeal being a hinderance to ma- ny of his projects, and he diſdaining to be a ſuiter to his enemy; for diſpatch of public affairs, cauſed the king ſend a letter for it, and the arch-biſhop with all reſpect ſent it immediately to the earl: with whom to be equal, he took himſelf to new meditations.

The queen many ways provoked by her husband the earl of Angus, and laſtly by detaining her ſon againſt his will, and contrary to the public courſe agreed upon, the arch-biſhop perſuaded her, " To intend a proceſs of " divorcement againſt him, and diſſolve her marriage; " this might produce ſome great effect, at leaſt it could

" not but diminiſh the earl's reputation among the peo-
" ple." The queen and the earl had many times in private between themſelves agreed upon a ſeparation, diſliking each others conditions; for it was fatal to her, as to her brother king HENRY, to delight in change of wedlock, and be jealous of her matches. The earl is therefore cited before the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews to hear the ſentence pronounced according to the laws of the church in thoſe times. At the day appointed he appeareth. The queen alleged, " He had been betrothed, given
" his faith and promiſe of marriage to a noble woman
" of the kingdom, a [illegible]ter of Traquair, before the
" marrying of her, and ſo by reaſon of that pre-con-
" tract he could not be her lawful husband." The earl confeſſeth: the arch-biſhop pronounceth the ſentence of divorcement, but with this reſervation and reſtraint, " That the child come of the queen and the earl the
" time of their marriage, by the ignorance of the mo-
" ther, the queen, ſhould not ſuffer any loſs, damage or
" diſadvantage."

The king of England reſented highly this divorcement, and endeavoured by his letters to hinder it; for he thought ſome things tolerable in men, which were incompetent and ſhameful in women, and after never carried ſuch reſpect to his ſiſter as he had done before. Of theſe ſhe made little reckoning, for, after the ſentence given, ſhe married HENRY STUART, ſon to the lord EVANDALE, whom king JAMES after, to do honour to his mother, promoted to be lord METHWEN, and general of his artillery.

Whilſt the king remained a ſhadow to the earl's government, amidſt ſo many diſtractions, diſcords and jars of the grandees, the court turned ſolitary and unfrequented by any noblemen, ſave theſe of the DOUGLASSES own faction, amongſt which, the earl of Lenox ſhewed himſelf moſt indifferent. For he, for his own ends, attending the court, in a ſhort time ſo framed himſelf to the king's humour, that he delighted alone in his converſation, and often hid none of his inward thoughts and ſecret intentions from him. Among others he many times importuned him, " To give him
" a ſound advice, how he might be delivered from the
" earl

" earl of Angus, of whoſe bondage he had been long " weary, whoſe rule over him was turned now into ty- " ranny, his ambition having mounted to that height, " that he was not contented to command the kingdom, " but to thrall and keep under his ſovereign lord the king " himſelf, that the effects of his governing were the diſ- " perſing of his nobles, and baniſhing of his mother from " him."

The earl of Lenox, who by his familiarity with the king was become ſuſpected by Angus, and had an intention to tumble out a man hated of his prince, eſtabliſh himſelf in his place, and rule the young king alone, aggravating his and the country's miſeries, told him, after much intreaty, " The laird of Buccleugh was the " only perſon to be employed in ſuch a ſervice; a man " of unlimited deſires, diſpleaſed, ſtrong in power, " mightily hated, and who had inveterate hatred a- " gainſt the earl of Angus, and wanted nothing but op- " portunity to execute his rancour: if this conceived " exploit had not a deſired ſucceſs, then he himſelf " would by main force either win his prince, or loſe " his life in the enterprize." The laird of Buccleugh, ſecretly advertiſed of the king's intention, giveth way to much oppreſſion and many inſolencies on the borders, the redreſs of which required the preſence of the prince. Complaints are given againſt them, and the king, to do juſtice, accompanied with the earls of Angus, Lenox, lords HUME, FLEMING and ERSKINE, with CESFORD, FARNEHAST, and others, cometh to Jedburgh. But when they had ſtayed there ſome days, ſmall redreſs was of wrongs, no juſtice executed, the chief men of the borders not producing the delinquents of their names, to anſwer according to law, as was the ancient cuſtom. Thus as they came they were returning, when at Melroſs, as they hovered at the paſſage of a bridge over the Tweed, certain companies of men in arms appeared on the deſcents of Halidon hill: which being come within diſtance of diſcerning, were known to be commanded by the laird of Buccleugh, and numbered a thouſand, all borderers and broken men. The earl of Angus, not a little moved at ſo ſudden an apparition, by an herald craveth to underſtand their intentions,

and how in ſuch a hoſtile manner they dared come ſo near the king's perſon, withal charging them under pain of high treaſon to retire. The laird of Buccleugh's anſwer was, he came to do the king ſervice, invite him to his houſe, and ſhow him what forces he was able to raiſe upon the borders, when neceſſity ſhould require his ſervice and aſſiſtance. That he would not obey a charge contrary to the king's mind, of which he was conſcious, and herewith he marched forwards. Preſently the earl alighting on foot, leaving the earl of Lenox, lords ERSKINE, and MAXWELL, Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, and NINIAN CREIGHTON with the king, as ſpectators of the game, with the lord FLEMING, and others his friends, marſhalled his men for the charge, which was given with a great ſhout and clamour of theſe borderers. The lord HUME, lairds of FARNEHAST and CESFORD, had taken their leave of the king, who gladly diſmiſſed them; but upon advertiſement of the ſudden fray, being not far off, they return in haſte with an hundred launces, in good time for the earl of Angus, and falling upon one of the wings of Buccleugh's troops, force them to yield ground, and ſome to turn their backs, upon which ſuddenly followeth the chace, CESFORD and FARNEHAST eagerly purſuing. Here, at the deſcent of a little hill, by the blow of a launce, which a domeſtic of Buccleugh's threw from his arm, the laird of Cesford is ſlain, and by his death the chace left off to be followed, and a long deadly feud between the SCOTS and CARS was begun, fourſcore borderers were killed, in this bickering, aſſiſting Buccleugh himſelf was wounded with many of his friends; the earl of Angus loſt not a few, beſides the laird of Cesford.

The earl of Angus, after this road of Melroſs, perceiving his enemies to increaſe, and the affections of ſome of the nobility turned from him, compoſing the old difference between him and the earl of Arran, entered into conditions of a ſtrict friendſhip with him, and was content he ſhould be his partner and fellow-governor in diſtribution of caſualities and ruling the country. When the king had conſidered how twice his intentions had been broken, and unhapily without ſucceſs, he began to eſſay the third by the earl of Lenox, whom challenging

of

of his promiſe he deſired to gather an army, and joining his forces with the queen's to reſtore him to his liberty. The earl of Lenox, before ſuſpected, after the league and friendſhip of the earl of Angus with the earl of Arran, became a declared enemy to Angus, withdrew himſelf from court; and ſome few months being paſt, at Stirling he maketh a declaration to all the lieges, of his intentions, inviting them to aſſiſt and ſide with his cauſe. One thouſand men came from the Highlands to him, the earl of Caſſils and maſter of Kilmaurs come from the Weſt with two thouſand, the queen and archbiſhop JAMES BEATON direct many of their vaſſals from Fife to him: thus with three ſtrong brigades he marcheth towards Linlithgow.

The earl of Angus, underſtanding theſe preparations to be againſt him, imploreth the aſſiſtance of his beſt friends to withſtand them, eſpecially the CARS and HUMES, to whoſe valour he had lately been ſo far obliged. He ſendeth letters to the earl of Arran, and the gentlemen of the name of HAMILTON; "Regreting "the eſtate of the commonwealth, and requiring their "ſpeedy aid. That, in ſo perilous a time, ſetting a-"ſide all particular reſpects and quarrels, they would "have a care of the common good of the country. If "the earl of Lenox ſhould carry the king from him, "and remain victor of the field, he would not ſtay there, "his next mark would be the HAMILTONS, whom "he was in the way to put from all title to the crown, "the report going already that the king would entail it "to him out of his own favour, and had deſigned him "heir to the earl of Arran, he having no children of "his own. That the king had a magnetical affection "towards him, which, if fortune favoured him with a "victory, would increaſe, now meriting, which before "was but meer favour: the cuſtody of a young king "was not for a man of ſo ſhort experience." The HAMILTONS finding that man their ſupliant, who lately was their competitor, delighting to live in a troubled ſtate, and be co-partners of the government and managing the affairs of the kingdom, which was promiſed them in their new bond of friendſhip, laying aſide all former diſcontent and grudge, accept the quarrel, and aſſemble

their forces at Linlithgow. To this town the earl of Lenox was advancing; and, he being the ſiſter's ſon of the earl of Arran, by gentlemen well affected towards him and of his kindred, they intreat him; "To turn "back, and to try the hazard of a battle for a conqueſt: "he could not long enjoy the government of a young "prince, whom a little more time would make govern- "or of himſelf, and who, perhaps, would reward his "ſervice with diſgrace; it being ordinarily ſeen that "great obligations to princes procure rather their hat- "red than love, whilſt it is more eaſy to pay men by "contempt than benefits: that if he came forwards, no "intereſt of blood would ſave him from their juſt and "lawful ſtopping his paſſage and enterprize." The earl of Lenox anſwered, "It was no time then in the eye "of the world to abandon ſo juſt a quarrel; that ſhame "wounded deeper than death, which he would rather "embrace than not ſee his prince at Edinburgh." And finding the bridge over the Avon poſſeſt by the enemy, paſſed his companies over the river near the ancient monaſtry Manuel; the maſter of Kilmaurs guideth the vanguard, conſiſting of Weſtland men; the earl of Caſſils and himſelf the main battle, many of which were Highland men, being of all, as ſome write, ten thouſand. The earl of Angus having eſſayed in vain to bring the king to the field with the power of Edinburgh, leaving that charge to his brother Sir GEORGE and ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS provoſt of the town, accompanied with the HUMES and CARS, being of all two thouſand, maketh a ſpeedy march towards Linlithgow. But the earl of Arran, ſpurred by the ambition and youthful heat of his ſon Sir JAMES HAMILTON, had begun the fight before he could appear. For a long time it is valiantly fought, victory inclining to neither ſide, till a great clamour aroſe, ſeconded by the appearance of freſh troops of enemies, the DOUGLASSES and their friends: at which alarm many of the Highland and Weſtland men turned their backs; the reſt by the advantage of the place ſuſtain the fight.

The king, after much loitering and many delays, having heard the armies were near joining, and much ſolicitation of Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, iſſueth out of Edinburgh

Edinburgh at a ſlow march. But when at Corſtorphine hills he was awakened with the noiſe of the great ordnance, he urged his followers to make all haſte to come to the fight. It was reported Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS drove his horſe in a great rage, and gave him injurious words, which he never after forgot. Being half way he is advertiſed that the earl of Lenox's Highland men were fled, and by all appearance the earl of Arran was maſter of the field. Theſe news perplexed him not a little, but making the beſt of that worſt, he diſpatched all his domeſtic ſervants, with ANDREW WOOD of Largo, to ſave ſo many as they could in the chace, eſpecially the earl of Lenox, whoſe life he now tendereth as his crown. But this earl, after he had been taken by the laird of Pardowy, in cold blood was unnaturally ſlain by Sir JAMES HAMILTON, who either killed or wounded on the face all that came under the dint of his ſword in the rout.

They found the earl of Arran mourning over his corps, over which he had ſpread his cloak; the laird of Houſtoun lay dead by him; the maſter of Kilmaurs, ſore wounded at their coming, maintained the fight, and was by them with difficulty ſaved, with ſo many others as either the king's authority or their power could reſcue. This conflict happened in September.

After the victorious earls had panſed their wounded ſoldiers, and refreſhed themſelves in Linlithgow, they accompany the king to Stirling, and immediately march through Fife in queſt of thoſe who had been the cauſe of taking arms againſt them, of which number the queen was; but the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews was the moſt eminent; who, as before he had ſeconded Arran to ſurprize Angus, ſo now he had ſtirred up Lenox to the overthrow of them both. Becauſe the arch biſhop was not to be found (for he, as ſome record, was turned a true paſtor, and in ſhepherd's weeds kept ſheep on ſome hill) they ſpoiled the abbacy of Dunfermline, and caſtle of St. Andrews, defacing all the ornaments, and carrying away the moveables and ſtuff in them: the queen with her husband HENRY STUART, and JAMES his brother, betook them to the caſtle of Edinburgh, which the lords at their return beſieged. The mother

hearing her ſon was amongſt the beſiegers in perſon, obtaining favour for her husband and his brother, cauſed the gates to be caſt open. But for their greater ſafety, ſuch who loved them, adviſed the king to commit them to that place during his pleaſure.

Now the earls of Angus and Arran ſummoned all who had born arms againſt the king to appear in judgment, and anſwer according to the law as traitors. Some compounded for ſums of mony, others became dependers of the houſes of Angus and Arran: GILBERT earl of Caſſils being ſummoned and compearing, HUGH KENNEDY his kinſman anſwered the indictment, that he came not againſt the king, but to aſſiſt the king, for proof of which he offered to produce the king's own letter. Though the earl of Caſſils eſcaped the danger of the law, he did not the fury of the revenge, which was taken about ſome diſparaging words; for as he was returning home, he was ſurprized in the way and killed: ſome write, by the ſheriff of Air, but by the direction of Sir JAMES HAMILTON.

About this time the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, and other churchmen, in revenge of the ſpoiling of his houſes, and purſuing himſelf, for queſtions of religion, burn the earl of Arran's brother's ſon Mr. PATRICK HAMILTON, and baniſh Mr. PATRICK's brother JAMES ſheriff of Linlithgow.

Not long after, men's wrath by time diminiſhing, and their blood growing colder, the arch-biſhop having beſtowed on the earl of Angus, Sir GEORGE his brother, and other their friends, ſome church benefices and many leaſes of tithes, was reconciled unto them, and with appearance of great friendſhip they mutually entertained and feaſted each others at Chriſtmas in the city of St. Andrews. But ſmall confidence could be long among reconciled enemies.

Now went every thing as the earl of Angus could have wiſhed, he was not only entire and familiar with the king's perſon, but with his office; ſome of his enemies were dead, others overthrown in open field, with the reſt he was reconciled. No faction for power or riches was equal to his; nor remained there any caſtle or fortreſs not ſeized on by him, and garriſoned with his

his friends and followers, except the caſtle of Stirling, a part of the queen's dowry, which being deſolate by her miſeries, and only haunted by ſome of her pooreſt and meaneſt ſervants, was neglected by the earl, which in him was a great error, the fitneſs of the place for a revolution and change of court conſidered. Many days the earl had not ſeen his own dwelling places, nor thought upon his private affairs, being carried away by the ſtorms of court: now he thinketh he may ſecurely paſs to Lothian, whilſt at Falkland the king ſhall be ſafely entertained by his brother Sir GEORGE, ARCHIBALD his uncle, and JAMES of the Parkhead, captain of the guards. Having earneſtly intreated their attendance on the king, he croſſeth the Forth, with a reſolution ſoon to return. His departing was not ſo conceal[illegible], but the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews had knowlege of it, and he inviteth Sir GEORGE, "to ſee him "in the city of St. Andrews, to receive the leaſes of "the tithes promiſed, all now perfected, valid, and ac-"cording to law ſufficient." Whilſt Sir GEORGE is here detained, ARCHIBALD the treaſurer, by other letters, for matters of love, is inticed to Dundee; but nothing could make the captain of the guards leave his charge. The king, amidſt his ſolitary walks in his park of Falkland, conſidering of what a tedious train he was relieved, and how ſuddenly occaſion might turn her bald ſcalp, if preſently he took not hold of her, reſolveth to accompliſh by ſtratagem, what the factions of his nobles could not perform by force. It is delightful to underſtand every particular circumſtance in the progreſs of the actions of princes. Upon this reſolution he directeth the foreſter of the park "To give ad-"vertiſement to ſuch gentlemen about, who kept "hounds, the next morning to attend him, for he would "early have his game." He ſuppeth ſooner than his cuſtom was, entertaining the captain of the guards with more than uſual ceremonies and repreſentations of the next morning's ſport, withal inviting him to go to his reſt, the night being ſhort about the ſummer ſolſtice. The waiters all ſhifted, and the court huſhed, ſhutting his chamber door, in the apparel of one of his grooms, unperceived he paſſed the guard to the ſtable; where,

with

with two who attended him with ſpare horſes, he poſted to Stirling, where, by the queen's intelligence, he was expected in the caſtle.

When the certainty of this eſcape was noiſed abroad, many noblemen repair to Stirling, ſome by letters ſent unto them, others at the rumour of his evaſion, that in a little time he found himſelf ſafe and far from any danger again to be ſurpriſed, the earls of Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, Monteith, and Huntley; the lords GRAHAM, DRUMMOND, LIVINGSTON, SINCLAIR, LINDSAY, EVANDALE, RUTHVEN, MAXWELL, SEMPLE, the earls of Eglinton, and Rothes, and JAMES BEATON arch-biſhop of St. Andrews, the deviſer of his eſcape. The earl of Angus full of miſ-giving thoughts, with many of his friends, was alſo on his way to Stirling; but proclamations being made againſt him, "Diſ-"charging him from all his offices and public functions, "and being by an herald forbidden with his friends "and followers to come near the court by ſome miles, "under pain of treaſon;" either moved by inward terrors, or love of the peace of his country, turned back to Linlithgow, where two days he attended news of the king's pleaſure, which at laſt was declared, "That nei-"ther he, nor none of his, ſhould preſume by ſome "miles to approach his reſidence." The more particular favours were, "That the earl ſhould confine him-"ſelf beyond the river of Spey in the North, whilſt his "brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS ſhould render "himſelf priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and there "remain during the king's pleaſure." When the DOUGLASSES had refuſed theſe offers, they are cited to anſwer according to law, in a parliament to be holden in September at Edinburgh.

Before the day of appearing, the earl of Angus, accompanied with an able train of his friends and followers, eſſayeth to enter the town of Edinburgh, and there attend the coming of the king; but by the lord MAXWELL, and the lord of Lochinvar, who in the king's name had inveſted the town, he is kept out; and the king, with an unexpected ſuddenneſs, with two thouſand men coming from Stirling, he removed. The earl not appearing at the appointed day, is, by decree of parliament,

parliament, attainted and forfeited, with his brother Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS his uncle, ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Carnock, and others.

The points of which they were to be accuſed, were, "The aſſembling of the king's lieges, with intention to "have aſſailed his perſon; the detaining of the king a-"gainſt his will and pleaſure, and contrary to the ar-"ticles agreed upon, the ſpace of two years and more; "all which time the king was in fear and danger of his "life." At this parliament, ſome write, the king made a ſolemn oath, never to give a remiſſion to any of the DOUGLASSES there forfeited, as the lords did, never to intercede nor requeſt for any of them: and in diſgrace of the earl of Angus, HENRY STUART who had married the queen his wife, was created lord METHWEN.

The DOUGLASSES having all favours denied them, being openly declared enemies to the king and country, commit all hoſtility, the laſt refuge of deſperate men, on their enemies bounds: Cauſtland and Cranſtoun are burnt; they ravage even to the gates of Edinburgh, the harmleſs people ſuffering for the faults of the great; under the ſhadow of their followers, all robberies and oppreſſions broke forth, and by whomſoever committed, are laid to their charge. The king will not hear of them in any other terms than as oppreſſors and common robbers. In their defence they fortify their caſtle of Tantallon with the readieſt proviſion taken from the neareſt adjacent bounds. In October the king raiſeth a great company of ſoldiers; with great ordnance, and other engines of war brought from the caſtle of Dunbar, Tantallon is beſieged, but proveth impregnable; and DAVID FALCONER the general of the ordnance at their removing is ſlain. A commiſſion is ſent to the earl of Bothwel, as the king's lieutenant, to invade with fire and ſword in all places the DOUGLASSES, which he, either out of humane compaſſion, or that he knew wiſe ſtateſmen ſhould extenuate the faults of others rather than aggravate them, refuſed to accept. But the earl of Argyle and lord HUME, accepting that charge, proſecute them where they might be apprehended, till after

after much misery and night-wandering at home, they were constrained with ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Carnock, who had been partaker of their misfortunes, by his consanguinity with the earl's mother, who was daughter to the lord DRUMMOND, to fly into England, where they were charitably received, and honourably entertained by king HENRY VIII.

Now are the offices and lands of the DOUGLASSES disposed upon; the arch-bishop of Glasgow, GAVIN DUNBAR, is made chancellor; ROBERT BARTON, who was in special favour with the king, treasurer, great customer-general of the artillery and mines, and other their charges are given unto others.

The king of England intending a war against the emperor CHARLES V. sendeth ambassadors to Scotland for a certain time to treat a peace, and, if it were possible, to reconcile the DOUGLASSES with the king. Five years truce was resolved upon; but for the DOUGLASSES, the king would hearken to no offers; only ALEXANDER DRUMMOND, by the intercession of ROBERT BARTON, and the ambassadors, had liberty to return home. When the earl of Northumberland and the earl of Murray, who had full power to conclude a truce, had met the other commissioners upon the borders, the factious great men and rank riders there, put all in such a confusion by urging difficulties, that they parted without agreeing unto any articles or certain conclusions: which the king took in so ill a part, that divining from what head this interruption sprung, he committed sundry noblemen to the castle of Edinburgh, till they gave hostages, and secured the borders from invasion or being invaded. In the month of June following, with great power, he visited these bounds, executing justice upon all oppressors, thieves and out-laws. In Ewsdale eight and forty notorious riders are hung on growing trees, the most famous of which was JOHN ARMSTRONG; others he brought with him to Edinburgh for more public execution and example, as WILLIAM COCKBURN of Henderland, and ADAM SCOT of Tushelaw, named king of thieves.

The year 1530. the king instituted the college of justice: before it was ambulatory, removing from place

to

to place by circuits; ſuits of law were peremptorily decided by baillies, ſheriffs, and other judges; when any great and notable cauſe offered itſelf, it was judged ſovereignly by the king's counſel, which gave free audience to all the ſubjects. The power and privileges of this college were immediately confirmed by pope CLEMENT VII.

In this court are fifteen judges ordinary, eight of them being ſpiritual perſons, of the which the moſt ancient is preſident, and ſeven temporal men: the chancellor of the realm, when he is preſent, is above the preſident. There are alſo four counſellors extraordinary, removeable at the prince's pleaſure.

This inſtitution is after that order of juſtice which is adminiſtred in Paris, firſt inſtituted by PHILIP IV. the French king, in the year 1286.

The king about this time ſtoreth his arſenals with all ſorts of arms; the caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunbarton, and Blackneſs, are repaired and furniſhed with ordnance and ammunition.

Whilſt no certain truce is concluded between the realms of England and Scotland, the earl of Angus worketh in this interim ſo with the king of England, that Sir EDWARD DARCEY is ſent to the borders; who, when his ſolicitation, for reſtoring the earl, at the Scotiſh court had taken no effect, yea had been ſcorned, after he had ſtayed at Berwick with the garriſoned ſoldiers, and ſome ſelected companies out of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, maketh a road into Scotland; Coldingham, Dunglas, and adjacent villages, they burn, and ravage the the country towards Duns. Some Scotiſh ſhips and veſſels were alſo at this time taken by ſea. When a reaſon was ſought of this invaſion in a ceſſation of arms and calm of truce; "They require the DOUGLASSES may be reſtored to their ancient inheritances, and whatſoever had been withheld from them, and that Cannabie, a poor abbacy, be rendered to the Engliſh, as appertaining of old to the crown of England." The earl of Murray, being declared lieutenant, maketh head againſt them: but the Engliſh daily increaſing in number, and his companies not being ſufficient to make good againſt ſo many and large in-

incurſions, the power of Scotland is divided into four quarters, every one of which for the ſpace of forty days by turns taketh the defence of the country. The Engliſh, finding by this intercourſe of new ſoldiers the war to be prolonged, would have gladly accepted of peace, but they diſdained to ſue for it to the Scots: it was thought expedient, that the French, a friend then to both, ſhould be a mediator to reconcile them: whereupon, after an ambaſſador had come from France, commiſſioners firſt meet at Newcaſtle, and after at London, JAMES COLVIL of Eaſter Weems, ADAM OTTERBURN of Redhall, WILLIAM STUART biſhop of Aberdeen, and the abbot of Kinloſs. Theſe conclude a peace "To continue between the two realms, during "the two princes lives, and one year after the deceaſe "of him who ſhould firſt depart this life."

About this time, the ſecrets of the eccleſiaſtical doctrine and authority beginning to be laid open to the view of the world, the politic government of kingdoms began to ſuffer in the alteration and diſcovery. The lady KATHARINE, daughter to FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, king and queen of Spain, and ſiſter to the mother of CHARLES V. emperor, had been married to ARTHUR prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to HENRY VII. king of England; he dying, by the diſpenſation of pope JULIUS II, her father-in-law gave her again in marriage to HENRY his other ſon, the brother of ARTHUR. This queen though fruitful of children, and often a mother, brought none forth that long enjoyed life, and came to any perfection of growth, except one only daughter MARY. Her husband either out of ſpleen againſt the emperor CHARLES, or deſire of male-children, or other cauſes known to himſelf, "pretended great ſcruples in his conſcience, would "make himſelf and the world believe, that his marriage "was not lawful." After deliberation with his churchmen, whom he conſtrained to be of his mind, he kept not longer company with his queen. His churchmen uſed all their eloquence to make the queen accept of a divorce, which ſhe altogether refuſed, and had her recourſe to the pope, who recals the cauſe to himſelf. At Rome whilſt in the conſiſtory the caſe is made difficult,

and

and the matter prolonged, king HENRY impatient of delays, and amourous, divorceth from his own queen, and marrieth ANNE BULLEN, anno 1533.

Then the pope, with his whole cardinals, gave out their ſentence, that it was not lawful for him, by his own authority, to ſeparate himſelf from his wife; that his marriage with KATHARINE was moſt lawful, not to be queſtioned; and that under pain of excommunication he ſhould adhere unto her.

King HENRY, well experienced in the great affairs of the world, conſidering how the threatnings and thunders of the biſhops of Rome, even in theſe ancient and innocent times, when they were believed and reverenced, in his kingdom produced never great effects, thought them to no purpoſe in a time when a doctrine was publiſhed to the world, embraced and believed of numbers, by which they were contemned and ſcorned: upon this and other grounds he refuſeth to obey, and the pope continueth his menacing.

This diſorder and boldneſs of the king of England moved the emperor and the pope to try if they could win the king of Scotland to ariſe in arms againſt his uncle king HENRY. The emperor eſſayed it under pretence of other buſineſs of great importance: for having given way to new opinions in religion amongſt his countrymen of Germany, and finding them mounted to that height as to have produced the effects he deſired, (by this diviſion laying a foundation to turn the imperial crown hereditary to his own houſe, which, Germany being all of one mind and undiſtracted, he could never have brought to paſs) he compelleth the biſhop of Rome to condeſcend to a general council or aſſembly of the clergy of Europe, the only and ſovereign remedy to cure diſeaſed minds, and accord different opinions: but he knew well, that by the church of Rome, men would be delegated to this meeting, turbulent, and ſo far from pacifying tumults begun, that inſtead of water they would apply oil and wood to theſe flames, turn opinions, before diſputable, irreconcilable, and leave matters worſe than they found them. Having implored the aid and aſſiſtance of the potentates about him to the ſetting forward of ſo pious and holy a work, he

ſendeth

ſendeth GODESCALLO ERICO, a Sicilian, for greater ſecrecy, by Ireland to the king of Scotland.

This ambaſſador, for a token of that affection the emperor his maſter carried to the perſon and virtues of king JAMES, preſenteth him with the order of the golden-fleece, anno 1534. with ſolemn proteſtations for the obſerving of theſe ancient leagues and confederacies contracted between the princes, his maſter's predeceſſors, and the kings of Scotland, to continue ever amongſt themſelves.

His other inſtructions were "Plaints of the wrongs "done to his aunt KATHARINE, moſt unjuſtly repu- "diated and forſaken by a king forſaken of God and "abhorred of men. The marriage of ANNE BUL- "LEN ſhould wound deeply king JAMES, it being "likely by her ſucceſſion he ſhould be barred from his "right to the crown of England. The emperor, by "his ambaſſador expoſtulating the wrongs of his aunt, "had gained nothing, but that for his ſake ſhe was the "worſe entertained. To make more ſtrong and laſting "the emperor's friendſhip with king JAMES, he, if he "pleaſed, would make him an offer, and give him the "choice of three ladies, three MARIES, all of the im- "perial ſtem; MARY of Auſtria, the emperor's ſiſter, "widow of LOUIS king of Hungary; MARY of Por- "tugal, the daughter of his ſiſter ELENORA of Au- "ſtria; MARY of England, the daughter of KATH- "ARINE and king HENRY; and would undertake the "performance of this laſt, either by conſent of her fa- "ther, or by main force. The greateſt but laſt of his "inſtructions was, that to ſuppreſs the hereſies of the "time, he would concur with the emperor for the con- "vocating a general council, and obviate the calami- "ties then threatening the chriſtian religion."

The king with great chearfulneſs and many thanks, that the emperor entertained him with ſuch reſpect, and held him worthy ſo fair and royal alliance, and the participation of affairs of ſuch importance and moment, received this embaſſy.

"For the council, providing it were a general coun- "cil lawfully convocated by the emperor and chriſtian "kings, as the firſt councils were wont, free and holy,

"as

" as nothing is more holy than a general convocation " of chriſtians, the moſt charitable and quiet of the " clergy, and ſuch who would pacify matters, not " the greateſt zealots and fiery ſpirits, or men cor- " rupted by rewards, being delegated unto it, being " premoniſhed of the time and place, he would apply " his will unto his, aſſiſt him, thither ſend his beſt " orators and moſt convenient churchmen. That, if " a true council could not be obtained, every prince " ſhould reform the errors of doctrine, and faults of the " clergy, within his own dominions.

" The proceedings of his uncle were grievous unto " him, being a man altogether thralled to his own o- " pinions. For the good of the chriſtian religion and " peace of Europe, it were expedient that all her prin- " ces were united together in amity and love, and their " arms directed againſt the common enemy, the Turk. " For himſelf he would be mediator to reconcile the " emperor and his uncle, endeavour to recall him to the " love of his wife, nor by any perſuaſions be induced " to condeſcend to ought prejudicial to queen KATH- " ARINE.

" The three ladies were every one in the ſuperlative " worthy, eſpecially MARY of England, for that great " reaſon of uniting the iſle of Great-Britain; but ſhe " was not in her own power, nor in the power of the " emperor, that he could beſtow her upon whom he " pleaſed. That to raviſh her out of the hands of her " father would be, beſide the danger of the enterprize, " a breach of divine and human laws.

" It was not ſafe for Paris, that he preferred one of the " three goddeſſes to the other two. For prizing thoſe " three (that the emperor might know how dearly he " reſpected and earneſtly affected his affinity) there re- " mained a fourth lady near in blood to the emperor, " DOROTHEA, daughter of CHRISTIAN king of Den- " mark, and of ISABELLA the emperor's own ſiſter, " whom, beſides her matchleſs virtues, for the vicini- " ty of the nation to his, and the conformity of their " harmleſs humours, he made choice to be queen of " his affections and dominions."

GOD-

GODESCALLO anſwered this laſt, "That a match "with lady DOROTHEA of Denmark, could not with "the emperor's credit be brought to paſs, becauſe ſhe "was promiſed already to another, FREDERICK elector "Palatine, and the marriage might be accompliſhed be-"fore news came to the emperor of the king's election."

This choice of the king's was but an evaſion; for Sir THOMAS ERSKINE of Brechin ſecretary, and DAVID BEATON abbot of Aberbrothoc, under pretence of renewing the league between France and Scotland, long before had been directed to France about a marriage with the eldeſt daughter of king FRANCIS, which JOHN duke of Albany projected when the league between the two kingdoms was renewed at Rochel.

HENRY king of England had now renounced all obedience to the biſhop of Rome, and through his whole dominions abrogated his authority; and PAUL III. after his aſſuming the papacy, ſet forwards by the emperor and his cardinals, who thought either to recover England, or burn it up by a foreign or civil war, never left thundering againſt him. But after JOHN FISHER, biſhop of Rocheſter, was beheaded, (a man impriſoned for adhering to the pope, then for his perſecution, and that the king might carry him the greater reſpect, made cardinal) the whole conclave ſtir the pope againſt king HENRY; and full of grief and rage remonſtrate what ignominy and danger would follow their order, if this example unpuniſhed ſhould have way. They maintained the papal power againſt all princes, which now for fear of their lives they would be forced to forſake, or to proceed with great timorouſneſs and neglect, if by any ſecular power they might be called in judgment, and embrue ſcaffolds with their blood. The pope, though highly provoked, parted not from his reſolution, yet uſed a ſort of moderation; he threateneth ſtill to let fall the blow, in the mean time holding his hand.

Thus to give ſatisfaction to his court, he formed a proceſs againſt king HENRY, and a moſt ſevere ſentence, but abſtained from the publication of it during his pleaſure; ſecretly ſending many copies of it, to thoſe princes he thought could be uſeful to his deſigns, when occaſion ſhould ſerve, and he proceed, with a conſtant

rumour

rumour of the bull ſhortly to be put in execution and publiſhed.

Amongſt many intereſted in wrongs by the king of England, conſidering there was none comparable to the nation and king of Scotland, he directeth hither JOHN ANTONIO CAMPEGGIO. This legate findeth king JAMES at Falkland, the 22d of February 1535; and here with many ceremonies and apoſtolical benedictions, delivereth him a "Cap and a ſword, conſecrated the night "of the nativity of our Saviour, which the fame of his "valour and many chriſtian virtues had moved his "maſter to remunerate him with. Alſo, ſaith the ori-"ginal, that it might breed a terror in the heart of a "wicked neighbouring prince, againſt whom the ſword "was ſharpened."

The pope's letter, in moſt ſubmiſſive ſtile, contained, "A complaint for the death of JOHN biſhop and "cardinal of Rocheſter, miſerably taken away by the "hand of an hangman; the calamities of England oc-"caſioned by the king's divorce from KATHARINE "of Spain, and his marriage with ANNE BULLEN; "that ſince the Roman church had received great diſ-"grace and a deadly wound, and by patience procured "daily more and more wrongs from the king of Eng-"land, ſhe was conſtrained to uſe a ſearing iron: for "the application of which, ſhe had recourſe to his ma-"jeſty, a prince for his anceſtors piety and his own re-"nowned. His aid, maintenance, and protection ſhe "implored; ſince king HENRY was a deſpiſer, a ſcorn-"er, one who ſet at nought the cenſures of the church, "an heretic, ſchiſmatic, a ſhameful and ſhameleſs a-"dulterer, a public and profeſt homicide, murtherer, "a ſacrilegious perſon, a church-robber, a rebel guilty "of leſe-majeſty divine, outragious, many and innu-"merable ways a felon, and a criminal; by all laws "heretofore juſtly to be turned out of his throne: the "king of Scotland for the defence of the church would "undertake ſomething worthy a chriſtian king and him-"ſelf: he would endeavour to ſuppreſs hereſy, de-"fend the catholic faith againſt thoſe whom the juſtice "of almighty God, and judgments, were now prepared "and ready to be denounced."

The

The king kindly entertaining the legate, anſwered the pope with much regret for the eſtate and ſtubbornneſs of the king of England. "Who would not be ſtruck "with pity, that a king, who of late amongſt chriſtian "princes was honoured with the title of *defender of the* "*faith*, ſhould be obnoxious to ſo many crimes, that "now amongſt princes he could ſcarce be reputed a chri- "ſtian? This compaſſion was common to him with o- "thers, but he by a neceſſity of nature, and nearneſs "of blood, felt a more piercing ſorrow; he ſhould leave "no means untried to recal his uncle to the obedience "of the church: and though by his ambaſſadors, he "had once or twice gone about the ſame, but in vain, "he would ſtudy a way how face to face he might give "him his beſt counſel, and remonſtrate how much "good he would do the chriſtian world and himſelf by "returning again to the boſom of the church." Mean while he requeſted him not to be heady, forward nor raſh, in executing the ſentence againſt his uncle the king of England, which would but harden him in his ſeparation.

King JAMES, not having loſt all hopes of his uncle, directeth the lord ERSKINE to England, to acquaint him with the emperor's and pope's embaſſies; and to take his counſel about a marriage with the duke of Vendome's daughter, whom the French king had offered to him, his own daughter being weak and ſickly. In this embaſſy there was a complaint againſt the Londoners, who in their paſſage to the iſland fiſhing, ſpoiled the coaſts of Orkney and the adjacent iſlands: with a requeſt that king HENRY would not ſuccour the Lubuckers againſt the duke of Holſtein.

The king of England, not to prove inferior to the emperor and pope in conferring honours upon his nephew, admitteth him to the fraternity of the Garter, which he delivered to the lord ERSKINE his ambaſſador. And thereafter diſpached WILLIAM lord HOWARD, brother to the earl of Norfolk (as if that name were a ſufficient ſcar-crow to the pope's ſword and the emperor's golden-fleece) to Scotland, who made ſuch haſty journeys that he prevented the news of his coming, and at unawares found the king at Stirling. The

ſubſtance

ſubſtance of his embaſſy was, "That the kings of England and Scotland might have an interview at York, at which meeting the king of Scotland ſhould be declared duke of York, and general lieutenant of the kingdom of England. That his maſter, having inſtructions of the alliances offered him by neighbour princes, did offer to his own and his council's judgments, if they could find a more fit, than to contract a marriage with his daughter, which might be eaſily perfected, if his maſter and king JAMES could agree upon ſome few points."

When the king had taken theſe propoſitions into deliberation, the churchmen ſuſpecting if this meeting and match had way, the king would embrace the opinions of the new reformers, ſet all their wits to overthrow it. The neareſt ſucceſſors to the crown, covering their claims and intereſt, argued, "That to marry the lady MARY of England, who for many years would not be marriageable, was not a right way to continue his race by procreation of children, and that his impatience of living alone, would not be much abated by marrying a child. That king HENRY projected this marriage to no other end than to hinder him from better alliances, or to facilitate an entry to the kingdom. That when a prince would take advantage of any neighbour prince, it was more ſafely done by alliance than open force. That it was more likely king HENRY, being a wary prince, never meant to marry his daughter at all as long as himſelf lived, but to keep her at home with him, bearing many princes in hand, to ſave him from dangers both at home and abroad: which counſel was practiſed lately by the duke of Burgundy."

Moſt oppoſe neither to the meeting of the two kings, nor to the alliance, but to the place of their meeting, which ſeemed unto them of no ſmall importance, being in the heart of England, and amidſt the moſt martial people of that nation.

"They require the two kings might have their interview at Newcaſtle, this place when they ſhould meet, being moſt commodious for furniſhing all neceſſaries by ſhips; that the number of their train

"ſhould

" ſhould be agreed upon, as one thouſand, which none " of the two kings ſhould exceed. That the time ſhould " be at the feaſt of ſaint MICHAEL the arch-angel, be- " tween the harveſt and the winter, which would haſte " the conſummation of the ceremonies, and not ſuf- " fer the kings to prolong time, but invite their return " to their own chief and principal cities." When it was declared to the lord HOWARD, that the conſent of the nobles of the kingdom being obtained, the interview at the feaſt of Michaelmas, at Newcaſtle, might be condeſcended unto; he would neither accept of the place nor time. " His maſter having already, as a " matter he had never put in queſtion, made great pre- " parations for this interview at York, that he would " think his offers ſlighted, and an affront put upon him, " if any excuſes were alleged to the contrary:" thus with ſome bravados to the council he departed.

The king to give ſatisfaction to his uncle of his council's proceedings with the lord HOWARD, ſendeth after him Sir ADAM OTTERBURN of Red-hall, who layeth the fault of his not meeting, upon the lord HOWARD, complaining, " That he menaced the counſel- " lors, and would have forced their votes; that he was " a great friend to Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS and o- " ther rebels, who convoyed him to Scotland, and ac- " companied him back again. It was againſt the credit " and honour of free-born princes to be threatened; " what was friendly begun ſhould friendly continue and " end: princes ſhould not be conſtrained, eſpecially in " matters which were not of debt but benevolence."

Amidſt theſe importunities and ſolicitations king JAMES with five well manned ſhips taketh the ſeas, giving out a voyage for France; and the French record, it was his firſt adventure to come to them: but it is more likely this proceeded from policy of ſtate, to try the affections and demeanour of the great ones of his kingdom in his abſence, rather than any intended voyage towards foreigners. For with this fleet he arriveth at Orkney, there in ſome forts placeth garriſons, ſails about the iſlands of Sky and Lewis, ſurpriſeth the chief of the Clans of thoſe Highland iſlanders, whom he ſent for hoſtages to the caſtles of Dunbarton and Edinburgh.

dinburgh. And when by the ſkill of one ALEXANDER LINDSAY his pilot, he had ſounded the remoteſt rocks of his kingdom, he was driven by ſtorms to take land at St. Ninian's near Whitehorn in Galloway. This voyage bred great fear in thoſe iſlanders and ſavages, and brought long peace and quietneſs to thoſe countries thereafter. At his return to Edinburgh, for diſorders committed or ſurmiſed in his abſence, moſt part of the great men near the borders are charged to enter their perſons in ward during the king's pleaſure. WALTER SCOT of Buccleugh is committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh, the lord HUME to the caſtle of Down, Farnehaſt to Falkland, the laird of Johnſton and MARK CAR to Dundee: and others elſewhere. He knew the common riders never made incurſions without either the command or tolerance of theſe ſuperiors.

The remote Highlands and borders being made peaceable by the incarcerations of the chiefs of the Clans and families there commanding, he may, when occaſion is offered, in perſon viſit any neighbour prince or ſtate. To ſecond his former ambaſſadors in their ſuit in France, he had ſent the earl of Murray, WILLIAM STUART biſhop of Aberdeen, with others: and king FRANCIS, in regard of the indiſpoſition of his daughter MAGDALEN, had made an offer to them of his neareſt kinſ-woman, MARY of Bourbon, daughter to CHARLES duke of Vendome.

The king's mind having been long troubled with youthful thoughts by the many matches offered him; and thinking marriages contracted and truſted to the eyes of others, one way or other deficient, reſolveth to go in perſon and woo for himſelf. Upon this reſolution he imbarked at Leith, concealing the intention of his voyage; many ſuppoſe he maketh for England to pacify his uncle, for many wiſhed the ſame. Whilſt he is on the ocean, the winds contrarying his courſe, a violent tempeſt ſeparating his ſhips, the pilot aſketh him, "To what coaſt he would direct his courſe; to any thou "beſt likeſt, anſwered the king, except towards Eng-"land." The ſtorm encreaſing, and ſleep ſhutting up the king's eyes, theſe who accompanied him, command the pilot to turn ſails again for Scotland, and not ſtrug-

gle with that pitileſs element, for matters which might be delayed, and a little time could not turn worſe. So when the king awoke, he found himſelf near his own harbours upon the Forth, and was ſo highly diſpleaſed with the authors of his return, that he never pardoned them. The fault was laid on Sir JAMES HAMILTON; and to ſtir him up more againſt this man, there wanted not who ſaid, "His obedience to his prince was diſſembled, that he accompanied his maſter to no other end "in his voyage, than to croſs his intentions ſo far as "was in his power."

The ſeaſon thereafter being more fit for navigation, he aſcendeth his ſhips again at Kirkaldie, and with a proſperous wind the tenth day after arrived at Diep in Normandy: the earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Errol, lords FLEMING and BOYD, attended him, with many barons and knights: the earls of Murray, young Lenox, and Caſſils, the lord ERSKINE, and abbot of Aberbrothoc, expected him at Paris; but he preventing the fame of his coming, with a ſmall train holdeth his way to Vendome, to ſee the lady MARY of Bourbon; all which way, one JOHN TENNANT perſonating the lord of the company, he paſſed undeſcried. But being come to Vendome, whether the lady had a letter for the ſame from DAVID BEATON, or that by matching the faces of one of thoſe ſtrangers with a portrait ſhe had of king JAMES in likeneſs, as ſhe ſaid, he was found out, and challenged by the lady of that fault, which was eaſily confeſſed and pardoned. He found her very beautiful, and eminent in all princely excellencies, but bethinking how he having choice of three princeſſes, all daughters of kings, if he ſhould fix his affection on this lady at the firſt interview, he ſhould be obnoxious to the indignation of the other, he returned as he came towards Rouen, where his nobles attended him, and having underſtood that king FRANCIS was to give the emperor battle in Provence, quitting his retinue he poſted towards him. The Dauphin meeteth him at the chapel between Tarray and St. Sophorin in the country of Lions. King FRANCIS receiveth him with as much honour as could be deſired, and convoyeth him to Paris: The peers of the kingdom haſte from all quarters thither

ther to entertain this ſtranger prince, and the court is changed into an academy of knightly exerciſe, where king JAMES proveth inferior to none in feats of arms. MAGDALEN the king's eldeſt daughter is his miſtreſs, a lady fair, young, of a lovely countenance and comely behaviour above all others of the kingdom. The lady MARGARET her younger ſiſter, who after was married to the duke of Savoy, is offered to him, by reaſon of the tender and weak diſpoſition of her ſiſter: but MAGDALEN by the glances of her princely woer reobtaining her health (her body as it were following the temperature of her ſpirit, or that it appeared to herſelf and her father ſo) king JAMES continuing in his firſt reſolution, the marriage is contracted between them, an hundred thouſand crowns of the ſum being promiſed in dowry, beſides thirty thouſand franks of yearly penſion during the life of king JAMES; the jointure aſſured to her by the king of Scotland, was all the lands poſſeſſed by any former queen, the earldoms of Strathern and Fife, with the palace of Falkland, and other lands of the beſt and moſt certain revenue.

Thus anno 1537. in the church of Noſtre-Dame in Paris, the king of Scotland married the lady MAGDALEN in preſence of her father, ſeven cardinals, the king of Narvarre, and many great dukes and barons.

King FRANCIS, after the ſolemnities of this marriage, Picardy and Piedmont being then over-run by the Imperialiſts; and king JAMES, fearing he might ſuffer wrong in his abſence, by the king of England, with aſſurance of mutual amity, part from other in the end of April, and from New-haven the queen with her husband the 29th of May arrives at the port of Leith. It is reported, that after ſhe put her foot on the ſhore, upon her knees ſhe kiſſed the ground, *praying for all happineſs, to the country and people.* Never queen in ſo ſhort time was more beloved of her husband, nor ſooner made conqueſt of the hearts of her ſubjects: nor was there greater hopes conceived of any alliance than of this, nor greater joy did ever ariſe from thoſe hopes: but as in the life of man there is ever remaining more of bitter than ſweet; ſo were theſe contentments but ſhadows, matched with the real ſorrow that the death of

that young lady brought forth. For ſhe lived not many weeks after her arrival in Scotland, when of a fever, which ſhe contracted in June, ſhe departed this life in July: ſhe was buried with the greateſt mourning Scotland ever till that time was participant of, in the church of Holy-rood-houſe near king JAMES II.

Theſe laſt honours to the dead queen and funeral pomp finiſhed, the king, deſirous of ſucceſſion, hath yet his thoughts wandering in France: MARY of Bourbon, daughter to CHARLES duke of Vendome, being fruſtrate of her royal hopes, had not only turned religious, but was dead of diſpleaſure. Whilſt he diſported himſelf at the court of France, he had been acquainted with a lady rich in all excellencies, who next MAGDALEN had the power of his affections, MARY of Lorrain, ſiſter to FRANCIS, daughter to RENE duke of Guiſe, and widow of the duke of Longueville: her he thinketh, for her ſtem, healthful complexion, fertility, for ſhe had been a mother, and other fortunes, worthy of his love. But to try her affection towards him, he directeth DAVID BEATON his late paranymph, and the lord MAXWELL, to France. Whilſt they traffic this marriage, many falſe accuſations, as plots laid againſt his perſon, are intended one after another at the court, amongſt which two are remarkable for their notable calumny.

JOHN, eldeſt ſon to the lord FORBES, a young gentleman, chief of his name, hardy and valorous, but ill brought up, and therefore eaſily ſuſpected to be capable of any ſin, had for a ſervant, or companion and ordinary ſharer of his pleaſures, one named STRACHAN, a man come of the dreg of the people, and perfectly wicked. This man, after much familiarity, and ſome ſecret ſervice and attendance, to ſatiate his inſatiable deſire, deſired earneſtly ſomething from the maſter of Forbes, which he paſſionately refuſed to give him; upon which, carried away with rage and malice, he not only renounced his friendſhip and ſervice, but betook himſelf to the ſervice of his enemy the earl of Huntley: by whoſe advice he forgeth a malicious plot to overthrow him. To compaſs their deſign they accuſe the maſter of Forbes to have had once an intention and mind to kil

the king, that the DOUGLASSES might be reſtored to their wonted honours and ancient poſſeſſions. By price and prayers witneſſes are procured to prove this againſt him, and convict him, or at the leaſt to leave him ſuſpected and taſhed with this treaſon. Though this crime was not ſufficiently and clearly proved, yet was the maſter of Forbes indicted and convicted by an aſſize, for having conſpired the king's death, for which he was beheaded and quartered, and his quarters ſet aloft upon the gates of Edinburgh.

This gentleman's death proveth, how dangerous the ſociety and company of the wicked is to any; for aſcending the fatal ſcaffold, he juſtified his innocence of what was laid to his charge, but confeſſed, the guilt of the laird of Drum's blood by the juſtice of God brought him to that end. His father the lord FORBES was, upon ſuſpicion, kept long after in the caſtle of Edinburgh. The king, when he could not amend what was paſt, teſtified he was grieved at the death of this nobleman; for he baniſhed STRACHAN, becauſe he had ſo long concealed the treaſon of FORBES, ſilence, in a matter importing no leſs than the life of a prince, being reckoned equal to the treaſon: he made his ſecond brother one of his domeſtics, reſtoring him to the eſtate which was forfeited.

This thunder-clap was immediately followed by another, for the quality of the perſon, and ſtrangeneſs of the crime deplorable, but more for the horror and terror of the puniſhment.

JANE DOUGLAS, ſiſter to ARCHIBALD earl of Angus, the widow of JOHN LYON lord GLAMIS, with her husband ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Keepneath, her young ſon the lord GLAMIS, and an old prieſt, were brought to Edinburgh, committed, and accuſed that they deſigned to have poiſoned the king. Their accuſer was WILLIAM LYON, a kinſman of the late lord GLAMIS. This treaſon had no probability of truth among ſuch who knew the accuſed, being perſons who lived far from the court in their ſolitary manſions, ſeldom or never almoſt ſeeing the king. Nevertheleſs their accuſations were believed, and ſtrict command given to the judges to diſpatch their proceſs.

WILLIAM LYON aggravating the caſe, repreſented to the king "The ancient faults of the family of the DOUGLASSES, committed againſt his predeceſſors, the particular wrongs of earl ARCHIBALD now ſtirring up the Engliſh againſt him, and ravaging his borders; that he ſhould believe, he not being able to be reſtored to his firſt eſtate, by prayers and ſolicitations of neighbour princes, nor by open force, did now ſet on work his laſt engines to come to his end, though it were with the life of his ſovereign; that in ſo ſecret and dangerous a plot he could not uſe but his neareſt kindred; a woman, and his own ſiſter, might attempt ſuch a miſchief, her ſex and other qualities making her leſs ſuſpected to have acceſs to his perſon.

"Suppoſe clear proofs could not be found againſt her, the whole race of the DOUGLASSES ſhould be extirpated, being a linage only fertile in bringing forth monſters of rebellion. That by ſparing her life, and ſuffering her to eſcape, he ſhould afford her time, licence, and power, to execute what ſhe but now, perhaps, had intended."

The king not knowing the man's particular hatred againſt this lady (for ſome write, "He did inform againſt her in revenge that ſhe refuſed to marry him, giving herſelf to another") ſuffered the proceſs to be concluded.

Some of the judges would have referred her to the king's clemency, till a farther trial of the witneſſes might be had, upon whoſe teſtimony the proceſs did depend, it being a ſafer way in judgment to abſolve the guilty, than condemn the innocent. But the moſt part gave her over to the aſſizers; the better part of which being in voices fewer, the greater, who neither reſpecting conſcience within them, nor ſhame with the preſent age and poſterity, nor the ſupreme juſtice of heaven, find this poor lady guilty, and ſhe is condemned to be burnt alive. Her ſentence was executed the fifth day after the beheading of the maſter of Forbes on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh, in ſight of her husband; who either out of revenge or fear, after this tragical end of his lady, ſeeking to ſave himſelf by eſcape out of the priſon, whilſt he came over the wall, by the ſhortneſs of the

the cable was daſhed againſt the rock, and found dead. Though the tender years of the lord GLAMIS, her ſon, proved his innocence; yet he remained priſoner in the caſtle till after the king's death. The old prieſt, when, after torture, nothing could be proved againſt him, was ſet at liberty. WILLIAM LYON the author of this calumny was baniſhed the country, which juſtified the lady's integrity, and verified, that however princes love to find out treaſon, they hate the informers, except upon clear grounds.

Upon the like ſuſpicions DRUMLANRIG and HEMPSFIELD, ancient barons, having challenged others, had leave to try the verity by combat: the liſts were deſigned by the king, who was a ſpectator and umpire of their valour, at the court of the palace of Holy-rood-houſe. They appeared upon the day, armed from head to foot, like ancient Paladines, and after many enterchanged blows to the diſadvantage of their caſks, corſlets and vantbraces, when the one was become breathleſs, by the weight of his arms and thunder of the blows, and the other, who was ſhort-ſighted, had broken his ponderous ſword, the king, by heralds, cauſed ſeparate them with diſadvantage to neither of theſe champions; and the verity which was found, was, that they dared both fight in cloſe arms.

The abbot of Aberbrothoc, and the lord MAXWELL, by many enterchanged letters full of princely love, had aſſured the king and the lady MARY of Lorrain; and articles being agreed upon, to the great content of the French, they were eſpouſed by proxy, as is the cuſtom among princes, with great triumph in the city of Paris, in the preſence of the French king and many peers; after which ſolemnity, monſieur D'ANNABAULT, admiral of France, accompanied her to New-haven in the beginning of the month of June 1538, where ſhe embarked, and with many French ſhips, when ſhe had been toſſed on the ſeas, came to Fife-neſs; where, at Carail ſhe was attended by the noblemen, and the king, who conſummated the marriage in the cathedral church of St. Andrews in July.

Nothing more linketh the affections of the married than children: the firſt year the queen anſwereth her

husband's hopes, and in St. Andrews was delivered of a ſon, who was named JAMES; the arch-biſhop of St. Andrews and earl of Arran being his god-fathers, and the old queen, the king's mother, his god-mother, 1539. In February thereafter ſhe was crowned queen of Scotland, in the abby church of Holy-rood-houſe, by the abbot of Aberbrothoc; at which time MARGARET the old queen falling ſick at Methven in few days departed, and was buried in the Charter-houſe of St. Johnſton near the tomb of king JAMES I; the king her ſon, with all the nobility and gentry, being preſent at her funerals, which were celebrated in moſt ſolemn and pompous manner. Not long after JAMES BEATON arch-biſhop, a man of great age, followed this lady to the other world: he had provided ſucceſſors to his heneſices, and his arch-biſhop's ſee to DAVID BEATON, afterwards cardinal, whom the king accepted and admitted without conteſtation.

The kingdom now began to be divided in opinions of religion, they which held the helm of ſtate, labouring in vain to reconcile them. The king was ſore perplexed and uncertain what courſe to follow; ſuppreſs them he could not; to give way to them, without ſhaking the ſtrongeſt beams of the policy of his kingdom, ſeemed unto him impoſſible. His privy counſellors being more of his ancient ſervants, than nobles or church-men (of which many were groping through theſe flecked clouds of ignorance) as they favoured gave their opinions, ſome one way, ſome another; and a freedom of ſpeech being given, one of them, as they were in his chamber together, ſpake to him to this purpoſe.

"Sir, amongſt the many bleſſings your ſubjects enjoy under this your government, this is not the leaſt, that for the weal of your majeſty, and the public good of the kingdom, the meaneſt of your ſubjects may freely open his mind and declare his opinion unto you his ſovereign.

"And if ever there was a time in which grave, good and ſound counſel ſhould be delivered to your majeſty, it is this, and the difficulties of the commonwealth do now require it. Not ever, in matters of advice and conſultation, can we embrace and follow what is

"moſt

" moſt reaſonable, and what according to laws, juſtice,
" and equity, ſhould be, but what neceſſity driveth us
" unto, and what is moſt convenient for the preſent
" time to be, and what we may well and fairly accom-
" pliſh and bring to paſs.

" The eſtate of your kingdom is troubled with di-
" verſity of opinions concerning religion; it is to be
" wiſhed that the one only true religion were in the
" hearts of all your ſubjects, (ſince diverſity of opini-
" ons of religion and hereſies are the very puniſhment
" of God almighty upon men for their horrible vices
" and roring ſins. And when men forſake his fear
" and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their
" own opinions and fantaſies in religion; out of which
" ariſe partialities, factions, diviſions, ſtrife and inte-
" ſtine diſcords, which burſt forth into civil wars, and
" in ſhort time bring kingdoms and commonwealths to
" their laſt periods.) But matters ariſing to ſuch a height
" and diſorder, as by all appearance, they are like to
" advance in this kingdom, the number of the ſectaries
" daily increaſing, without diſſembling my thoughts
" to your majeſty, the preſervation of the people be-
" ing the ſupream and principal law which God almigh-
" ty hath enjoined to all princes;

" I hold it more expedient to give place to the exer-
" ciſe of both religions, than under pretence and ſha-
" dow of them to ſuffer the common peace of your ſub-
" jects to be torn in pieces. What can wiſdom, Sir,
" adviſe you to do with theſe ſeparatiſts? Either they
" muſt be tolerated for a time, or they muſt altogether
" be removed, and that by death or baniſhment.

" So ſoon as a prince beginneth to ſpoil, baniſh, kill,
" and burn his people, for matters abſtract from ſenſe,
" and altogether ſpiritual, he becometh as it were a
" plague unto them. It is an error of ſtate in a prince,
" for an opinion of piety to condemn to death the ad-
" herers to new doctrine. For, the conſtancy and pa-
" tience of thoſe who voluntarily ſuffer all temporal
" miſeries, and death itſelf, for matters of faith, ſtir up
" and invite numbers, who at firſt, and before they had
" ſuffered, were ignorant of their faith and doctrine,
" not only to favour their cauſe, but to embrace their

" opinions, pity and commiſeration opening the gates. " Thus their belief ſpreadeth itſelf abroad, and their " number daily encreaſeth.

" It is no leſs an error of ſtate to baniſh them: ba- " niſhed men are ſo many enemies abroad, ready upon " all occaſions to invade their native country, to trou- " ble the peace and tranquillity of your kingdom.

" To take arms againſt ſectaries and ſeparatiſts will " be a great enterprize, a matter hard and of many dan- " gers: religion cannot be preached by arms; the firſt " chriſtians deteſted that form of proceeding; force and " compulſion may bring forth hypocrites, not true chri- " ſtians. If there be any hereſy amongſt your people, " this wound is in the ſoul; our ſouls being ſpiritual " ſubſtances, upon which fire and iron cannot work, " they muſt be overcome by ſpiritual arms: love the " men, and pity their errors.

" Who can lay upon a man a neceſſity to believe that " which he will not believe, or what he will believe, " or doth believe, not to believe. No prince hath " ſuch power over the ſouls and thoughts of men as " he hath over their bodies. Now to ruin and extir- " pate all thoſe ſectaries, what will it prove elſe than " to cut off one of your arms, to the great prejudice of " your kingdom and weakening of the ſtate? They dai- " ly increaſing in number, and no man being ſo miſer- " able and mean, but he is a member of the ſtate. " The more eaſy manner and nobler way were to to- " lerate both religions, and grant a place to two church- " es in the kingdom, till it ſhall pleaſe almighty God " to return the minds of your ſubjects, and turn them " all of one will and opinion; be content to keep that " which ye may, Sir, ſince ye cannot that which ye " would.

" It is a falſe and erroneous opinion, that a kingdom " cannot ſubſiſt which tolerateth two religions: di- " verſity of religion ſhutteth not up ſociety, nor bar- " reth civil converſation among men; a little time will " make perſons of different religions contract ſuch ac- " quaintance, cuſtom, and familiarity together, that " they will be intermixt in one city, family, yea mar-

" riage-bed;

" riage-bed; ſtate and religion having nothing com-
" mon.

" Why, I pray, may not two religions be ſuffered
" in a ſtate (till by ſome ſweet and eaſy means they
" may be reduced to a right government) ſince in the
" church, which ſhould be union itſelf, and of which the
" Roman church much vaunteth, almoſt infinite ſects
" and kinds of monks are ſuffered; differing in their
" laws, rules of government, faſhions of living, diet,
" apparel, maintenance, and opinions of perfection, and
" who ſequeſter themſelves from our public union? The
" Roman empire had its extenſion, not by ſimilitude
" and likeneſs of religion. Different religions, provid-
" ing they enterprize or practiſe nothing againſt the po-
" litic laws of the kingdom, may be tolerated in a
" ſtate.

" The murthers, maſſacres, and battles, which a-
" riſe and are like daily to encreaſe amongſt chriſtians,
" all which are undertaken for religion, are a thouſand
" times more execrable, and more open, plain, and flat
" impiety, than this liberty of diverſity of religions,
" with a quiet peace, can be unjuſt.

" Foraſmuch as the greateſt part of thoſe who fleſh
" themſelves in blood and ſlaughter, and overturn by
" arms the peace of their neighbours, whom they ſhould
" love as themſelves, ſpoiling and ravaging like fa-
" miſhed lions, ſacrifice their ſouls to the infernal
" powers, without further hopes or means of their ever
" recovering and coming back, when thoſe others are
" in ſome way of repentance.

" In ſeeking liberty of religion, theſe men ſeek not
" to believe any thing that may come in their brains;
" but to uſe religion according to the firſt chriſtian in-
" ſtitutions, ſerving God and obeying the laws under
" which they were born.

" That maxim ſo often repeated amongſt the church-
" men of Rome, that the chace and following of here-
" tics is more neceſſary than that of infidels, is well ap-
" plied for the enlarging and increaſing the dominions,
" ſovereignty and power of the pope, but not for the
" amplifying and extending of the chriſtian religion, and
" the weal and benefit of the chriſtian commonwealth.

" Kingdoms

" Kingdoms and ſovereignties ſhould not be govern-
" ed by the laws and intereſts of prieſts and church-
" men, but according to the exigency, need, and as
" the caſe requireth, of the public weal, which often
" is neceſſitated to paſs and tolerate ſome defects and
" faults. It is the duty of all chriſtian princes to en-
" deavour and take pains that their ſubjects embrace the
" true faith, as that ſemblably, and in even parts, they
" obſerve all God's commandments, and not more one
" commandment than another.

" Notwithſtanding, when a vice cannot be extirpated
" and taken away, without the ruin of the ſtate, it
" would appear to human judgments that it ſhould
" be ſuffered. Neither is there a greater obligation,
" bond, or neceſſity of law, to puniſh heretics more
" than fornicators, which yet for the peace and tran-
" quillity of the ſtate are tolerated and paſt over. Nei-
" ther can a greater inconvenience and harm follow, if
" we ſhall ſuffer men to live in our commonwealth who
" believe not, nor embrace all our opinions. In a ſtate
" many things are for the time tolerated, becauſe they
" cannot, without the total ruin of the ſtate, be ſud-
" denly amended and reformed.

" Theſe men are of that ſame nature and condition
" of which we are; they worſhip, as we do, one God,
" they believe thoſe very ſame holy records; we both
" aim at ſalvation; we both fear to offend God; we
" both ſet before us one happineſs. The difference be-
" tween them and us hangeth upon this one point, that
" they having found abuſes in our church, require a
" reformation. Now ſhall it be ſaid for that we run di-
" verſe ways to one end, and underſtand not rightly o-
" thers language, we ſhall purſue others with fire and
" ſword, and extirpate others from the face of the
" earth? God is not in the bitter diviſion and aliena-
" tion of affections, nor the raging flames of ſeditions,
" nor in the tempeſts of the turbulent whirlwinds of
" contradictions and diſputations, but in the calm
" and gentle breathings of peace and concord: if any
" wander out of the high-way, we bring him to it a-
" gain; if any be in darkneſs, we ſhew him light and
" kill him not. In muſical inſtruments, if a ſtring jar

" and

" and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but " leiſurely veer it about to a concord: and ſhall we be " ſo churliſh, cruel, and uncharitable, and ſo wedded " to our own ſuperſtitious opinions, that we will bar- " barouſly baniſh, kill, and burn thoſe whom by love " and ſweetneſs we might readily win and recal again?

" Let us win and bring over theſe men by reaſon; " let them be cited to a free council; it may be they " ſhall not be proved heretics, neither that they main- " tain opinions condemned by the ancient councils. " Let their religion be compared and paralleled with the " religion of the firſt age of the church.

" Shall we hold this people worſe than the Jews, " which yet have their ſynagogues at Rome itſelf? let " them receive inſtructions from a free and lawful coun- " cil, and forſake their errors, when they ſhall be clear- " ly and fairly demonſtrated unto them. Hereſy is an " error in the fundamental grounds of religion; ſchiſm " intendeth a reſolution in ſeparation: let a good coun- " cil be convocated, and ſee if they be ready, or not, " to re-unite themſelves to us.

" That which they believe is not evil, but to ſome " it will appear they believe not enough, and that there " is in them rather a defect of good than any habit of " evil. Other points, when they ſhall be conſidered, " ſhall be found to conſiſt in external ceremonies of the " church, rather than in ſubſtance of doctrine, or what " is eſſential to chriſtianity. Theſe men ſhould be " judged before condemned, and they ſhould be heard " before they be judged; which being holily and up- " rightly done we ſhall find it is not our religions, but " our private intereſts and paſſions which troubleth us " and the ſtate."

The king followed not this opinion, but gave himſelf over to the counſel and government of the prelates. They remonſtrate to him, " That he ſhould not raſhly " alter approved and long received cuſtoms; that there " was nothing more dangerous in government, than to " abaſe the authority of ancient laws. Let him well " conſider and ſet before his eyes the malice of man, " who ever when he is drawn off one courſe of evil pre- " cipitateth himſelf in a worſe. It was leſs evil in the

" ſtate

" ſtate to tolerate diſorders known, unto which uſual
" and accuſtomed remedies might be applied, than by
" altering and changing foundations to give way to new;
" to find out remedies to which, would take up and
" conſume a whole age. That this would be a way, not
" only to take away the abuſes, but even the good uſ-
" es of every thing, and put in hazard all matters and
" main points concerning religion. They deſired him
" to conſider how there were two ſorts of perſons affe-
" cting theſe new opinions, and ſtudying novations.
" The multitude or common people, and ſome of the
" nobility and gentry. It was likely the common peo-
" ple might be deceived; and to give them ſatisfaction,
" and appeaſe them, by granting them a reformation
" or change in religion, would not be a means to illu-
" minate and inſtruct them, but to bring in a popular
" licence. If he ſhould ſuffer them to misbelieve, di-
" ſtruſt, and call in queſtion points of religion, or ſearch
" or find out more light, they would immediately there-
" after preſume to make laws, and limit the govern-
" ment, by degrees reſtraining the ſovereign authority,
" and after they had examined, ſifted narrowly, and
" diſcuſſed eccleſiaſtical authority, they would eſſay to
" correct and find out the difficulties of the temporal.
" That it was more eaſy to oppoſe and reſiſt the firſt de-
" mands of the multitude, than pleaſing them in a part,
" after to bound and limit their deſires and petitions.
" As to the great men of his nobility and gentry, he
" might be aſſured they had no religion and piety for
" their ends, but to impatronize and lay hold on the
" church rents, and eccleſiaſtical goods; to turn abſo-
" lute and free men, acknowleging neither church nor
" king. To this end, many reſerved themſelves, and
" kept cloſe their opinions, attending the change; which
" once appearing, their faces would turn all one way.
" Which imminent evils, if the king would prevent,
" there was no other means than to uſe his authority
" and power, whilſt the moſt and greateſt part of his
" kingdom yet obeyed him. That celerity in this was
" moſt neceſſary, before their number increaſed, and
" ere they diſcovered that univerſal commodity, which
" would follow the embracing of theſe new opinions.

" It

" It was ſafer to compoſe theſe tumults by his abſolute " command and authority; and, if this produced not " the wiſhed effect, to perform it by arms, than to give " reins to a popular licence, and the ambition of great " men."

After this counſel had prevailed, moſt rigorous inquiſitions are eſtabliſhed, and puniſhments denounced againſt all who profeſſed opinions differing from the church of Rome.

Whereupon ſome out of a muffled zeal of religion, others to revenge their particular quarrels, moſt to poſſeſs moveables and lands, purſue many to judgment. Of which ſome are executed by fire, others baniſhed, many impriſoned; amongſt which was that famous poet and hiſtorian GEORGE BUCHANAN, who whilſt his keepers ſlept, eſcaped by a window of the priſon, the muſes holding the cable. The more frequent the public executions were and baniſhments, the greater number embraced the opinions of them which ſuffered.

The king of England having underſtood that the pope, giving out the confirming of a peace between the emperor and the French king, had a meeting with them at Nice, a maritime town upon the confines of Provence, and aſſuring himſelf that matters there would be both conſulted upon, and determined to his prejudice, ſendeth again to his nephew the king of Scotland, that he would come and ſee him at York; for now he had more vehemently irritated the pope, having condemned as rebels, and confiſcated the goods of all who maintained papal authority, and raiſed from their tomb the bones of THOMAS BECKET (commonly named Saint THOMAS of Canterbury, canonized by pope ALEXANDER III. for being killed for the maintenance of the liberties of the church 1171. to whom there was yearly a feſtival day kept by the Roman church) and by the hands of a common executioner cauſed burn to aſhes, and throw them into the river. The revealing of which to the world was a ſecret more derogatory to the pontificial ſtate, than any ſtumbled upon heretofore, or opened up. Upon this the ſentence of excommunication, ſome years deferred, was pronounced againſt him. By which he was deprived of his kingdom, and

thoſe

thoſe who adhered to him, declared uncapable of what they poſſeſſed. His ſubjects were abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and diſcharged to obey him. Strangers were inhibited traffic with his kingdom. All chriſtians charged to ariſe in arms againſt him. The eſtates, goods and perſons of ſuch ſubjects as followed him, given over to be a prey and ſpoil to any would invade them.

It was time for him to look to himſelf. Such of the nobility as loved peace, and the weal of the two kingdoms, ſtirred up king JAMES to this interview, eſpecially they who favoured the reformed religion; aſſuring him "King HENRY was diſpoſed with all demonſtrations of good-will; that his perſon would be far from any danger. And if by this conference they ſhould join in bands of amity, a great benefit to themſelves, country and poſterity, would redound. Why would king HENRY, in the face of the world and neighbour princes, brand ſo his reputation, as to break the laws of hoſpitality, wrong a prince whom he had invited to come and ſee him? Why would he violate thoſe of conſanguinity, attempting againſt his own nephew? The emperor CHARLES V. had been his gueſt, and after royal entertainment, was friendly diſmiſſed. He met with FRANCIS the French king at Bollogne; which meeting ſeemed rather of brothers come to countenance ſome marriage-pomp, than contending neighbours. If king HENRY had born any diſcontent againſt his nephew, he might long ere now have ſatisfied his ambition, and at a more eaſy rate, when the king his father with moſt of the nobility and gentry of Scotland received that fatal overthrow by the hills of Flowden and banks of Till: the refuſing of an interview might divide the king and his uncle, upon which might follow ſome unnatural war."

Upon the other part, the churchmen ſet all their power to hinder this interview, perſuading themſelves it would give a terrible blow to their eſtates or religion. "The principal cauſe, ſay they, why the king of England is ſo paſſionately earneſt to have this meeting, is to perſuade his nephew to conform church-matters in Scotland

" Scotland to thoſe already begun in England; to a-
" boliſh the pope's authority, to drive religious perſons
" from their lands, rents, and houſes; and to inveſt
" the jewels and ornaments of the churches. Which
" counſel and example if JAMES ſhould follow, he
" would hazard or loſe the friendſhip he had with the
" pope, emperor and French king, his beſt confede-
" rates, abandoned of which he and his kingdom would
" be left a prey to the tyranny of his uncle. If HEN-
" RY kept no faith to God, men had no reaſon to truſt
" him. That this interview was to intrap his perſon;
" he being the man whom the pope and emperor had
" deſigned to ſet upon his throne, and revenge their
" quarrels; that it was groſly to err, to be carried a-
" way with a ſhadow and appearance, and leave a ſub-
" ſtance, to truſt at once his crown, perſon and liberty
" to an enemy. And ſince examples move more than
" precepts, let him think upon the hazard of king
" JAMES I. eighteen years priſoner, and after ſold to
" his ſubjects; MALCOLM and WILLIAM kings of
" Scotland. He ſhould remember, if yet he were there-
" in inſtructed, that princes ſerve themſelves with oc-
" caſions over their neighbours; that they have great-
" er care to ſatisfy their ambition, than fear of ſhame
" for doing of wrongs with the preſent times and po-
" ſterity. That their oaths were no longer kept than
" they obſerved their advantages. That after he fal-
" leth into his hands, he muſt follow his manners, and
" religion, forſaking and giving over his own natural
" diſpoſition, manners and freedom, and have no other
" affections nor motions than his. For who cometh
" under the roof of a tyrant turneth ſlave, though he
" was a free man ere he did enter. That this meet-
" ing with the body, would endanger the ſoul, and in-
" fect it with his errors, corrupting it with falſe opini-
" ons grounded upon a liberty to live to ſenſuality and
" Epicurean pleaſure. If upon the ſlighting of this in-
" terview, king HENRY ſhould denounce war againſt
" king JAMES, and invade his country, they in his juſt
" defence ſhould furniſh mony to entertain an army
" and overturn his proceedings. For the preſent ne-
" ceſſity they offer to pay him fifty thouſand crowns
" yearly;

" yearly; and in any hazard of the eſtate voluntarily " to contribute all their rents, and revenues, provid- " ing it would pleaſe his majeſty to ſuffer juſtice to pro- " ceed againſt thoſe who ſcandalouſly had ſequeſtred " themſelves from the holy church, and to the con- " tempt of his laws publicly made profeſſion of the o- " pinions of Luther. That the goods of all who ſhould " be convicted of hereſy (which they eſteemed to no " leſs than an hundred thouſand crowns of yearly rent) " ſhould be brought to the exchequer, and their lands " annexed to the crown. To this effect they intreat his " majeſty, to give them ſufficient judges, truly catho- " lic, and full of zeal and ſeverity."

After long reaſoning upon both ſides, it was agreed, that the king ſhould not altogether refuſe to meet his uncle, but adhere to the firſt offers propounded to his ambaſſador concerning this interview. The meeting to be at Newcaſtle, one thouſand at the moſt in train with either king, the time to be the feaſt of St. MICHAEL the arch-angel.

Theſe conditions not being embraced by king HENRY, would, if not aboliſh totally, at the leaſt prolong the time of this meeting. The king of England thinketh his nephew too imperious, to aſſume the injunction of the whole circumſtances of their meeting, but, rather than his ſuit ſhould take no effect, accepteth both of the place and number of the train: and that he might have ſome point yielded unto him, requireth the time may be the firſt of Auguſt. Theſe conditions being almoſt agreed upon, three or four hundred Riddeſdale and Tinedale men, with other borderers, break in upon Liddeſdale, and there with large incurſions kill and forrage. This during the treaty falling miſerably forth, ſo much irritated king JAMES, that, accepting the offers of his clergy, he gave over inwardly all intentions of any interview; by prolonging time labouring to wind himſelf out of the maze. Hereupon he ſendeth letters full of excuſes for his ſtay; repreſenting his many grievances and wrongs ſuffered; and the ſeeds of diſcord began now to be ſown amongſt them. To lighten and recreate his cloudy thoughts, the queen is delivered at Stirling of another ſon, who with great ſolemnity is baptized

baptized in the chapel of the caſtle, and named ARTHUR.

The prelates, after mature deliberation, preſent Sir JAMES HAMILTON, natural ſon to the earl of Arran, to be ſupream judge of the inquiſition, againſt all ſuſpected of hereſy and new opinions differing from the faith of the Roman church. The king approving their judgments, in their choice, admitteth him. Sir JAMES chearfully accepteth this new honour: for now his ambition will find many guilty and miſerable ſupplicants: yet was this charge his ruin. For whilſt he perſecuteth all who were informed againſt to be ſuſpected of the reformed religion, having many in goals, and numbers in his ſcrolls to bring within the labyrinth of a proceſs, the ſupream providence arreſteth himſelf.

JAMES HAMILTON ſheriff of Linlithgow, brother to Mr. PATRICK HAMILTON abbot of Ferme, (who had ſuffered for religion, and was couſin to Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Fennard, lord inquiſitor) for embracing his brother's opinions, had been purſued ſo by the churchmen, that he was conſtrained to forſake his own country, and ſome years wander as a baniſhed man abroad: but, by his friends at court, having purchaſed a licence or protection for ſome months to ſee his deſolate family, and put his private affairs in order, cometh home. Where finding the cenſorian power to be in his couſin's hands, (for where ſhould he have ſanctuary, if he were challenged by ſo near a kinſman for matters of religion?) imagining to himſelf an over-ſight and preterition, outdateth, by his ſtay, his protection. Sir JAMES, to curry the favour of the churchmen, and teſtify how dearly the cauſe of the catholic faith touched him, reſolveth to begin with his couſin. For if he were ſo burnt up with zeal, that he ſpared not his own blood in the quarrel of the Roman faith, what heretic could paſs unpuniſhed? beſides the inveſting himſelf in the ſheriff's office and lands, which he never minded to reſtore, he had a pique againſt him, for that, whilſt he ſat judge in Linlithgow, he had pronounced a ſentence by which he was intereſted in ſome petty gain.

The ſheriff falling ſo far ſhort of his expectation, that he findeth himſelf the firſt ſubject of his couſin's juſtice, and

and highly reſenting his kinſman's cruelty, whom he knew under pretext of piety ready to execute his own revenge, reſolveth to prevent his miſchief. He had been ſometime familiar with Sir JAMES, had known his by-paths; his ſecret plots and airy brags had not eſcaped his obſervation. Some alike in kindred to them both, were emiſſaries ſuborned, to mark not only his actions, but words and behaviour, by which one way or other he might be intraped: he knew Sir JAMES ſtood in ſome umbrage with the king, and that ſome ſuſpicions by no innocence could be taken away. When at laſt he had found his hot-ſpur couſin, who threatened him with death and fire, within the circle of his conjurations, he directeth his ſon to the king, who at that time was ready to paſs the Forth in his barge. This baſhful meſſenger giveth advertiſement from his father, that the king ſhould make his perſon ſure from his foes at home; for Sir JAMES HAMILTON had ſecret intelligence and plots with the earl of Angus and the DOUGLASSES, and that he attended only the occaſion when he might ſurprize him, either alone, or with a mean retinue, and then, or openly he would invade him, or, breaking up his chamber-doors, aſſaſſinate him. The king giving attentive ear to a buſineſs which concerned him no leſs than the ſafety of his perſon, the accuſation being given by a couſin of the perſon ſuſpected, againſt a family, which a little diſorder in the ſtate might turn ſucceſſors to the crown, directeth the young man to Edinburgh, and beyond his private inſtructions, giveth him a ring, well known by the chief officers to be a token of power and ſecrecy, to aſſemble ſo many of the council as were reſident. Sir THOMAS ERSKINE ſecretary, Sir JAMES LEARMONT maſter of the houſhold, WILLIAM KIRKALDIE treaſurer, and others, meet, conſult upon the treaſon, labour how to prevent it, come to Sir JAMES's lodging, make ſure his perſon in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and at that ſame time proceed, according to the king's direction to inſtruct his proceſs. Sir JAMES paſſionately reſenting his impriſonment, by his friends imploreth the aid of the churchmen upon his innocence. They apprehending his accuſation to be a ſtratagem of ſtate forged

forged by theſe of the reformed religion, for the ſtopping any further progreſs of the inquiſition, already ſo furiouſly begun, interpoſe their credit with the king for his liberty to the diſcharging of his commiſſion againſt heretics. "If the king ſhould hearken to every "informer againſt a man in ſtate and office, he ſhould "never have an end; for thus no man is ſo innocent, "who may not be detracted and calumniated. Sir JAMES "was known to be a man raſh and inſolent in words, "his brains having been a little giddy, like one looking "from a great height, by his advancement to honours "and place in court; but ſincere in the ſervice of his "prince, and loyal. If he was arrogant in boldneſs of "terms, that was to acquire ſome more credit with the "commons, that he might do better ſervice to his "prince."

They who committed Sir JAMES HAMILTON, knowing the king facile and eaſy to be wrought upon by the clergy, ſome of them too, profeſſing or giving way to the reformed religion, reſolve, if he ſhould eſcape free of this accuſation, that an imminent ruin hung over their perſons and eſtates. Neceſſity and fear combining the diſtracted powers of their minds, they come proſtrate before the king, beſeech him, "Not ſo much to look to the quality and circumſtan"ces of the crime, as to the evil inclination of the "man, who, powerful, factious, and naturally vindi"ctive, would never forgive nor forget the danger he "was driven unto; that his majeſty would conſider "his paſt life, terrible and cruel againſt all whom he "could reach. That to give him liberty, and relieve "him of his impriſonment, before the crimes of which "he was accuſed were clearly proved, or not, would "be their, and the accuſers, overthrow; whom they "eſteemed loyal ſubjects, and except upon evident pro"babilities, had never given informations againſt him. "That he was a man perfectly hated of the people, "and a more acceptable ſacrifice could not be offered "unto their fury, if he proved guilty." At their ſupplications the king gave the judges full power to proceed againſt him, and adminiſter juſtice according to their conſciences and the laws of the kingdom. The pannel

nel being found guilty of ſuch points of the inditement as was laid againſt him, was condemned to die, and thereafter accordingly beheaded, his quarters being ſet aloft on the town gates, and his lands annexed to the crown.

The crimes of which he was found guilty (as from thoſe who lived near that time they have by tradition been received) were; he had intelligence with the earl of Angus and the DOUGLASSES, whom he laboured to have reſtored, though with the king's death: he had a plot to have broken up the king's chamber-doors, and killed him, devolving the title of the crown, or at leaſt the government of the kingdom to his kindred. Being directed to have repaired a caſtle in Bute, and to this effect receiving three thouſand crowns in April, he went not thither, attending ſome change in the ſtate, which was to be accompliſhed by treaſon againſt the king's perſon. He kept ſtill with him men of deſperate minds and fortunes, who at his direction durſt enterprize any miſchief.

Where he had repaired ſome of the king's houſes, he had placed a ſtatue reſembling himſelf, or which to ſome he had named his ſtatue (what mole-hills are turned into mountains when a prince will pry into the actions of a diſgraced ſubject?) above the king's arms. He had detracted from his maſter, naming him the king of clowns and prieſts, and ſcourge of the ancient nobility; he had laboured to hinder the king's marriage at his being in France.

To theſe points the people, who rejoiced in his ruin, added, he had ſlain cruelly the earl of Lenox at the battle of Linlithgow, after he was priſoner to Pardowy; and he had way-laid GILBERT earl of Caſſils, who was killed by his direction and counſel.

This back-blow of fortune proveth, that it is dangerous once highly to offend a prince, and after remain in his ſervice; for princes put old offences up as neglected, and when the occaſion ſerveth them, ſurprize long after the delinquents for ſome faults of which they are ſcarce guilty.

Sundry of the nobility, appalled at this ſudden fall of Sir JAMES HAMILTON (for though they loved not the

the man, they hated the example of ſuch ſtrict juſtice) left the court, retiring to their own dwelling-houſes; which made the king ſuſpicious of them, and believe they favoured the reformed religion, and preferred the friendſhip of king HENRY his uncle to his. Neither was he herein far miſtaken: for ſome feared not to ſend him word, that they had learned, that the churchmen had ſet him on work to extirpate his ancient nobility, as if it were an eaſy matter to create as many new out of the gentry, in whom, being his own creatures, he might have greater confidence than any made by his predeceſſors.

After this he turned ſo retired, ſullen and melancholy, that every thing diſpleaſed him, and he became even inſupportable to himſelf, not ſuffering his domeſtic ſervants to uſe their ordinary deſport and recreations near him. And as all day he projected and figured to himſelf new cares to perplex himſelf, ſome of which might fall forth, others could never come to paſs; ſo in the night time the objects of his daily projects working upon his fancy, limned their dark ſhadows of diſpleaſures, which gave him terrible affrightments in his ſleep. Amongſt many of which, two are recorded as notable; one in the hiſtory of the church, the other common; both ſeem to have been forged by the men of thoſe times, who thought fictions as powerful to breed an opinion in diſcontented minds, as verities, and they may challenge a place in the poetical part of hiſtory. As he lay in the palace of Linlithgow about the midſt of the night, he leaped out of his bed, calleth for lights, commandeth his ſervants to ſearch THOMAS SCOT, his juſtice clerk, who, he ſaid, ſtood by his bed-ſide accompanied with hideous wights, curſing the time that ever he had ſerved him; for by too great obedience to him, he was, by the juſtice of God, condemned to everlaſting torments.

Whilſt they about him laboured to cure his wounded imagination, news came that THOMAS SCOT about that ſame hour of the night was departed to the other world at Edinburgh, and with no better devotion than he was repreſented to the king.

After

After Sir JAMES HAMILTON had ended his part of this tragi-comedy of life, he ſeemed to the king to have returned on the ſtage, and in a ghaſtly manner, with a naked ſword in his hands, he thought he parted both his arms from him, advertiſing him he would come again ſhortly, and be more fully revenged, till which occaſion he ſhould ſuffer theſe wounds. The next day after this viſion, which is recorded to have been the 7th of Auguſt, word came that both his ſons were deceaſed, and that almoſt in one hour; JAMES the prince, then one year old, at St. Andrews, ARTHUR, one month old, at Stirling.

The king of England, finding himſelf diſappointed by his nephew of their meeting, and underſtanding it to have been occaſioned by the rhetoric and liberality of the church-men; having many of the nobility of Scotland of his faction (whoſe innocence interpreted his religion to be the reformed, though indeed it was of his own ſtamp, for he aboliſhed the pope but not popery) by making prizes of Scotiſh ſhips upon the ſeas with his fleet, and incurſions of his garriſoned ſoldiers upon land, beginneth the prologue of an unneceſſary war.

King JAMES, to ſtop the Engliſh incurſions, placeth GEORGE GORDON earl of Huntley with his full power and authority at the borders, and directeth JAMES LEARMONT of Darcy towards his uncle, to give ſufficient reaſons of his not meeting him at Newcaſtle; withal to ſeek reſtitution of his ſhips, ſince taken before any lawful war was proclaimed, and to expoſtulate the hoſtility of the borderers.

King HENRY not only refuſeth to render the ſhips, or give a reaſon for the breaking forth of the garriſons on the borders, but delaying the anſwer of the Scotiſh ambaſſador upon advantage of time, ſendeth Sir ROBERT BOWES, ſeconded with the earl of Angus and Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, in hoſtile manner to invade Scotland. Theſe, to the number of three thouſand, burn and ſpoil ſmall villages, and ravage the country near the debatable bounds. The earl of Huntley omitteth no occaſion to reſiſt them, places garriſons in Kelſo and Jedburgh, aſſembling all the hardy borderers, and invadeth the Engliſh and Scotiſh forces at a place named Halldenrig; here it is ſoundly ſkirmiſhed,

ed, till the lord HUME by the advancing of four hundred freſh launces turned the fortune of the day; for the Engliſh were put to flight, the warden Sir ROBERT BOWES captain of Norham, Sir WILLIAM MOWBRAY, JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead, with a natural ſon of the earl of Angus, were taken priſoners, the earl by the advantage of his horſe eſcaping, with others to the number of ſix hundred. The warden ſtayed in Scotland till the king's death.

This road happened proſperouſly to the Scots, the 24th of Auguſt 1541. being a diſmal St. Bartholomew to the Engliſh.

The war continuing till midſummer, king HENRY ſent the earl of Norfolk, whom he named the rod of the Scots, with great power towards Scotland; with him the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland Surrey, Hereford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the North parts of England, with an army of forty thouſand men, as they were eſteemed. With them he directeth JAMES LEARMONT of Darcy, the Scotiſh ambaſſador, to keep an equal march till they came to Berwick, and there to ſtay, that he ſhould not give advertiſement to his maſter of any of his proceedings; the earl of Huntley upon advantages of places reſiſting the adventuring routs who eſſayed to croſs the Tweed. But king JAMES hearing the old duke of Norfolk was their leader, raiſeth from all the parts of his kingdom companies, and aſſembling them upon Sawtry-edge, muſtered thirty thouſand men. They encamped on Falla-Moor, the king having advertiſement that the duke would march towards Edinburgh. Ten thouſand ſtrong, with the lords HUME, SEATON, and ERSKINE, to make up the earl of Huntley's forces, are ſent towards the borders: the king himſelf expecting the artillery and other furniture of war, ſtayeth with the body of the army in the camp. During this time it is reported the lords plot a reformation of the court, according to the example practiſed at Lawder-bridge: eſpecially againſt ſuch who were named penſioners of the prieſts; but becauſe they could not agree among themſelves about thoſe who ſhould ſtretch the ropes, every one ſtriving to ſave his kinſman, or friend, they

eſcaped all the danger. This attempt being reveal-ed to the king, he diſmiſt ſome of his favourites in great fear to Edinburgh. So malicious is faction armed with power.

THOMAS duke of Norfolk, by ſuch in the Scotiſh camp who favoured king HENRY, having underſtood the preparation and mind of king JAMES to meet him in an open field, well knowing that fortune had that much of a woman to favour young men more than old, and that honourable retreats are no ways inferior to brave charges, retireth off the Scotiſh ground, and keeps his forces on their own marches. For the valour and reſolution of this young prince might, perhaps, ſpoil and diveſt him of his former purchaſed lawrels and palms, to the applauſe of king HENRY, who, ſome thought, being weary of his ſervice, to this effect ſent him to Scotland. A great number of the Lancaſtrians and Northumbrians, who, upon hopes of ſpoil, had followed him, pretending want of victuals, and the rigorous ſeaſon of the year, with arms and baggage leave this army. Having done little harm to the Scots, and ſuffered much hunger and cold at Berwick, he prepareth a retreat towards London.

When king JAMES underſtood the duke had repaſſed the Tweed, he encouraged his army to follow him. The common ſoldier was indifferent; the noblemen refuſe to fight except upon Scotiſh ground. The king urgeth them "with the commodity and advantage of "a revenge of the old wrong of the duke, commanding "an army neither of the gentry, nor many nobles of "England, but of hirelings and preſſed artizans; whoſe "number would prove hurtful to themſelves, and turn "them into a diſordered confuſion. They had many "days ſuffered famine, and all neceſſities of war; their "vigour and courage was ſpent; that the Engliſh fought "far off, and they at home." There wanted not matter to anſwer, but a man to deliver the king an anſwer; generally they refuſe to fight. "To defend the "perſon of their prince, the ſtate and country, they "would hazard their lives, and if they had any thing "more dear. If the enemy would ſtay on Scotiſh "ground, they would do their uttermoſt to make him,

"retire,

" retire, or by main force expel him: but to invade " England and tempt an army, who not only was re- " tired, but returned to their own bounds, they neither " had ſo juſt a quarrel as they wiſhed, nor were they " ſufficient at that time to purſue them. Their provi- " ſions for war were ſpent, the winter approached, and " victuals were conſumed: that deſpair often turned it- " ſelf into true fortitude, and men in good order retir- " ing would not be too near followed, that even flying " enemies ſhould have bridges of gold. Now if they " were to charge the enemy they would not have the " king's preſence, a man young, raſh, and valorous, up- " on whoſe life, not only the glory of the battle, but " the life of the commonwealth depended, his two ſons " being lately departed. For if the fortune of war brought " a period to his life, the crown would remain at the " mercy of the victor; that the king's glory was not " little, that he had in ſo ſhort a time with ſo ſmall for- " ces, and theſe ſuddenly gathered, ſtopt the progreſs " of ſo mighty an army, which was ſo long in gathering, " and boaſted of ſuch great matters, yet which durſt " not advance one mile in Scotiſh ground. Whether " the Engliſh fly or retire, they had ſuffered as much " wrong as they had done, and now to fight them, and " that perhaps, with diſadvantage, was to put in haz- " ard what was already acquired."

The duke of Norfolk returning to London, the king with his army comes to Edinburgh, which immediately he disbanded; but he forgot not the ſecret plot againſt his favorites, nor the open refuſal of his nobles to fight on Engliſh ground: as if the earth were not all one piece and matter, and men the deſtined inhabitants of it every where; the cardinal DAVID BEATON, OLIVER SINCLAIR, CRAIGY-ROSS, and others, add fewel to theſe flames, Fala-Moor plot mightily inſtigating them.

The king avouched publicly, that the nobility neither loved his honour, nor deſired his continuance among them.

To cool theſe ſmoaking humours, and breed in the king fairer hopes of his nobles, the lord MAXWELL offereth, giving him ten thouſand men to command, if the ſtate thought it expedient, to invade England at

Sulway, affirming the ſtate and fortune of thoſe who aſſail, to be better than theirs who are ſtill put to their defence. The Engliſh forces being divided, he doubted not to ſtay longer on Engliſh ground, than the duke had done on the Scotiſh, and to effectuate ſomething to the king's content. The king thanking him for his offer, appointeth a rendezvous to be at the Weſt marches. No proclamations are divulged for the levies of men, but cloſe letters ſent.

The cardinal and the earl of Arran (the one a churchman of a mind above many nobles, the other a nobleman of an humility under any churchman) to give a falſe perſpective to thoſe proceedings, by ſound of trumpet, and beating of drums, raiſe men openly, and march towards Haddington, and the Eaſt borders; whilſt the earls of Caſſils, Glencairn, lords FLEMING, SOMERVILE, ERSKINE, barons AYTON, LANGTON, ORMESTON, WAUGHTON, and many others, accompanied with the king's domeſtic ſervants, ride to the Weſt borders.

The night before the road, the king himſelf came to Lochmaban, attending the event of the incurſion. Companies coming from all quarters of the countries about, none knowing of another, with the power of the Scotiſh borderers, paſs the water of and Eſk, burn certain hamlets of the GRAHAMS on the very limits.

Sir THOMAS WHARTON, warden of theſe marches, not a little troubled at ſuch a frequent aſſembly of the Scotiſh riders, raiſing the power of the country, placeth them by a little hill, where he might take a view of their forces, in good order; with him were baſtard DACRES, and JACK MUSGRAVE, two valiant captains.

The Scotiſh lords beholding the Engliſh range themſelves in a battalion, deſire to know the king's lieutenant general, for now it was time to marſhal their companies, and every man to take him to his charge. Preſently OLIVER SINCLAIR, upon croſſed pikes, is mounted, the king's banner diſplayed, and the commiſſion read, in which he is deſigned lieutenant, and all are commanded, in the king's name to obey and follow him.

It

It hath been reported by thoſe who were acquainted with OLIVER, that the commiſſion was not read, but that at his very ſight, ſuch a tumult, confuſed clamour and enter-ſhouldering of malecontents aroſe, their ranks were broken, and the military order turned into a confuſion, none ſo repining as the lord MAXWELL and the borderers: who if he had had patience to have heard the commiſſion, as OLIVER proteſted, was lieutenant, and not he, whoſe charge was only to preſent it.

The Engliſh, who now were ready for the fight, obſerving this diſorder, take the advantage upon the occaſion, and break forwards with a military ſhout, whilſt the others are in doubt whether to fly or ſtand, and the guidiats and ſcullions are pell mell thronging with the foot-ſoldiers, and they with the horſemen. Here is a general ſurprize, moſt part willingly rendering themſelves to the Engliſh without any ſhew of defence, or the ſlaughter of any perſon of any ſide. This overthrow proveth, that neither arms, nor the multitude and numbers of ſoldiers, without their love and hearts, availeth any thing in a field, yea rather they are hurtful the more in number they be, if their affection be alienated from their commanders.

It is recorded, that at this road, which was named Sulway-Moſs, every Engliſh man had three or four Scots for priſoners; and when they wanted men to take them, the women of the neighbouring hamlets and boys had priſoners; the earls of Caſſils and Glencairn, the lords MAXWELL, FLEMING, SOMERVILE, OLIPHANT, GRAY, ROBERT ERSKINE ſon to the lord ERSKINE, OLIVER SINCLAIR; the lairds of CRAIGY, AYTON, LANGTON, ORMESTON, WAUGHTON, many of the king's domeſtic ſervants, were taken priſoners, brought to London, and remained there till after the king's death.

The certainty of this voluntary defeat coming to the king at Lochmaben, or Carlaverock, as others ſay, ſo aſtoniſhed all the powers of his mind, that he had neither counſel nor reſolution what to follow, neither remembering his own valour, nor the number of his ſubjects yet flouriſhing; he remained as one diſtracted, and

abandoned of all hopes. The plot of the nobles at Fala-Moor againſt his ſervants, the refuſing to give battle on Engliſh ground, made him apprehend that the whole body of his nobility had conſpired his overthrow.

The cardinal and earl of Arran coming to Edinburgh, he alſo returned; all ſo caſt down, that they were aſhamed to come within ſight of each other ſome days.

After which, in a retired manner, he paſſed to Fife, and from Hall-yards to Falkland, where he gave himſelf over to ſorrow. No man had acceſs unto him, no, not his own domeſtics. Now are his thoughts buſied with revenge, now with rage againſt his ſcornful nobility: long watchings, continual cares and paſſions, abſtinence from food and recreation, had ſo extenuated his body, that pierced with grief, anguiſh, impatience and deſpair, he remained fixed to his bed.

In theſe trances letters come from Linlithgow to him, that the queen was delivered of a daughter the eighth of December. When he heard it was a daughter was born, he is ſaid to have turned his face from them that read the letters, and ſighing a farewel to the world, "It "will end as it began; ſays he, the crown came by a "woman, and it will with one go: many miſeries ap"proach this poor kingdom; king HENRY will either "make it his by arms or marriage."

The cardinal put in his hands ſome blank papers, of which they compoſed a latter-will, which whether he ſubſcribed or not, is uncertain. After which he ſaid not many words which could be underſtood, but muſed on the diſcomfiture of his ſervants at the Sulway-Moſs. In which fits he left this world the thirteenth of December 1542, the three and thirtieth year of his age, and two and thirty of his reign.

Some record, he was troubled by an unkindly medicine, and that the cardinal was conſcious to it, but upon far conjectures: for the event proved that his death was not only the ruin of the cardinal, but of the whole churchmen of the kingdom, and frame of the Roman religion. His body was conveyed from Falkland to Edinburgh; the cardinal, earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, and Marſhal, accompanying it; and in January buried in the abbey church of Holy-rood-houſe, near

near the body of MAGDALEN his firſt queen. He left behind him many natural children; of his marriages only one daughter, five days old at his death, the heir of his kingdom and misfortunes.

This king was of a well made body and excellent mind, if it had been carefully poliſhed; he was of a middle ſtature; nature had given him ſtrength and ability equal to any; but by exerciſe he had ſo confirmed it, that he was able to endure any travel, and practiſe all feats of arms, as his purſuing malefactors proved; for he was ordinarily thought the firſt of his troops who purſued them, and the laſt that left the chaſe, being daring and forward. In his private affairs he was attentive and liberal, yet ſpared his treaſure that he ſhould not want, and when occaſion required, caring for no charges. Never man did entertain ſovereignty more familiarly, being of as eaſy acceſs to the meaner ſort as to the great. He was ſtudious of all good arts, naturally given to poeſy, as many of his verſes yet extant teſtify. He was of as great ſobriety as of little continency: he was a great favourer of learned men. The poor man loved him, the great feared him: he made the ruſh-buſhes keep the herds of cattle: he was thankful towards his friends, and dangerous towards his enemies. He infinitely obliged his people by eſtabliſhing a juſtice-court among them, and bringing all ſorts of manufactures from neighbour nations home. By the Germans he found the gold mines of Crawford-Moor, being unknown to this part of the world before him, out of which he extracted treaſure. He left his arſenals furniſhed with all ſorts of arms and furniture for war. Now, as in pictures not only the light but the ſhadow is obſervable, let us look upon him in all his umbrages. This prince in his long purſuit of the DOUGLASSES ſeems to have had a ſtrange humour, that he could never forgive: and moſt of his miſeries may be traced to this ſource: theſe he would have extirpate, and the king of England could not forſake a man who was his brother-in-law, and had been ever obſequious to him; ſeeking only that he might be reſtored to his own, out of which he was caſt, not by any treaſon or aſpiring to the crown, but of an ambition he had to be near the king,

equal to any ſubject; his own worth, kindred and followers animating him thereunto, having married the king's mother, and one of the greateſt king's ſiſter of thoſe times.

The burning alive of the lady GLAMIS, beheading of the maſter of Forbes, and after him Sir JAMES HAMILTON, turned many of the hearts of his nobles from him, and made the commons detract him: for though they delight ſometimes to have great men made equal to them, when they find not evident proofs and ſound grounds of their ſufferings and executions, they abhor the actors. Princes ſhould remember, that as the people are their ſubjects, ſo are they the ſubjects of time and providence.

This humour of revenge made many believe, if he had not been prevented by death, many ſcaffolds had been embrued for Fala-Moor plot and Sulway-Moſs. The lord MAXWELL, who had ſtudied the character of the king, at that road vowed, when he might have eſcaped among his known borderers, he would rather be the king of England's priſoner, and ſee him at London, than return home, and be ſhamefully hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh.

He ſtudied very much the overthrow of his ancient nobility, not conſidering that the titles of crowns in hereditary kingdoms belong only to kings, for that they are the moſt ancient noblemen, and alſo firſt of the primitive blood.

In his laſt years he was altogether governed by Romiſh prelates, dangerous pilots in the ocean of a troubled ſtate; that body, in which one humour ſignorizeth, cannot laſt long; and a prince periſheth when he is governed by only one ſort of men. Neither was he ruled ſo much by them out of great zeal to religion, being a prince altogether given to his own pleaſures, as that he found them counterpoiſe the nobility whilſt he ſwayed the balance.

His death proveth his mind to have been raiſed to the higheſt ſtrain, and above mediocrity; for he could die, but could not digeſt a diſaſter. He ſeemeth to have had too much confidence in himſelf, and that he forgot the conditions of mortality, whilſt he ſuffered himſelf

to

to be carried away by the current of grief, and ſwallowed up in the gulf of deſpair.

All his faults are but as ſome few warts in a moſt pleaſing and beautiful face. He was very much beholding to the excellent poets of his time, whoſe commendation ſhall ſerve him for an epitaph. ARIOSTO, who knew him only by fame, in the perſon of ZERBINO, whom he nameth prince of Scotland, glaunceth at his worth.

Zerbin di Bellezza e di valore
Sopra tutti i Signori eminente,
Di virtu eſſempio e di Ballezza raro.

But RONZARD, who with his queen came to Scotland, and was his domeſtic ſervant, deſcribeth him more to the life.

Ce Roy d' Eſcoſſe eſtoit en la fleur de ſes ans:
Ses Cheveux non tondus comme fin or luiſans
Cordonnez et creſpez flotans deſſus ſa face,
Et ſur ſon col de laict luy donnoit bonne grace.
Son Port eſtoit royal, ſon regard vigoureux.
De vertus, et d'honneur, & de guerre amoureux.
La douceur, et la force, illuſtroient ſon viſage,
Si que Venus et Mars en avoient fait partage.

So happy is a prince when he cheriſheth and is entertained by the rare ſpirits of his time, that even when his treaſures, pomp, ſtate, followers, diadems, and all external glory leave him, the ſweet incenſe of his fame, in the temple of honour, perfumeth his altars. A prince's name is ſurer preſerved, and more deeply ingraven in paper, than in all the ruſting medals, blaſted arches, entombed tombs, which may ſerve to any as well as to him, raiſed with ſuch loſs of time, vain labours of artizans, and vaſt expence, to be the ſport of the winds, rains, tempeſts, thunder, earthquakes, or, if they ſhun all theſe, of ſuperſtition, faction and civil broils.

After this prince had ſome years reſted in a tomb, not only it, but the moſt part of the church was made equal to the ground, by the armies of his uncle king HENRY VIII. whoſe malice left him not even when he was dead, proving as horrible an uncle, as Nero was a ſon. A while after he was tranſported to another

vault, by the piety of his matchleſs grand-child JAMES king of Great-Britain; where he was embalmed again, enſhrined, and his coffin adorned with the arms of the kingdom, cognizances and a crown. With which honours I leave him, till ſome famous pen, encouraged by the favours of his royal ſucceſſors, raiſe his fame from the duſt of obſcure papers to eternity.

THE END.

The

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